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No Official Intervention
Kiryat Arba Settlers Destroy Pylons, Home

Israeli military authorities in Hebron prevented, January 12, members of Peace Now movement from entering Hebron to participate in replanting and guarding electricity pylons destroyed twice last week by Kiryat Arba settlers. The authorities' measures came after the settlers warned Peace Now activists from taking part in the conflict.

Fifty Peace Now activists were stopped at a military checkpost at the entrance to Hebron and were told that the district was "a closed military area" off limits to outsiders. They finally agreed to leave, after the military authorities pledged to make sure that "laws are obeyed by all."

Israeli settlers from Kiryat Arba settlement near Hebron tore down four electricity pylons twice in four days, cutting off electricity to two Palestinian houses in the area known as Beit Inoun January 6, and 9. The pylons were installed on land owned by Hebron residents which the settlers have been attempting to seize. The poles were reinstalled the next morning, despite the settlers' threat to remove them again, which they carried out January 9.

A string of seven pylons was set up in 1979 by Hebron municipality to extend electricity to two houses owned by Khalid Tawfiq Jwaihar, and Omar Khalid Jawhan. The houses owners said that the pylons were erected at their expense and cost nearly JD600.

On Thursday afternoon, January 6, a bulldozer driven by a settler from Kiryat Arba, and escorted by seven armed men, drove into the area and began uprooting the pylons, said Khalid Jawhan. The landowners said that they were not aware of the Israeli settlers intentions until the uprooting started. The leader of the gang, identified head of Kiryat Arba local council, told them that the pylons were on land owned by the settlement.

After the settlers left, the house owners filled a complaint at the local police station against the settlers' actions. The municipality and the home owners immediately began reconstructing the pylons. But, on January 9, the bulldozers returned and demolished them again. There was no official comment on the acts, which was once more attributed to settlers — this time unidentified. The Jerusalem Post printed denials from Kiryat Arba about their involvement.

The land which the settlers claim to own is a 120 dunum plot located near a new settlement close to Kiryat Arba. It is owned by five extended families from Hebron who possess registration documents dating back to the Turkish government times. They also pay property on it.

Settlers claimed that land nearly one year ago, when their bulldozers drove onto it, uprooting some 1000 newly planted olive trees. The settlers then took the trees with them back to the settlement. A few weeks later, the settlers made a second raid on an almond field, destroying hundreds of trees. Land owners complained then to an Israeli military court in Ramallah. No decision has been made yet. Settlers need the land to build an access road to a new villa suburb.

Peace Now announced January 11, that they would take action against the settlers' activities. In a statement issued and distributed to the press, the movement called on the military authorities to implement the law against Kiryat Arba settlers who violate the authority of Hebron municipality council. The statement added that any evasive attitude on the part of the military authorities means a clear approval of the settlers destructive actions. The movement also sent a letter to acting Hebron mayor Mustafa Natshe informing him of their intention to visit the city. Natshe welcomed their initiative, and was among several residents who waited for them at the town entrances. On January 10, two Israeli MK's Imri Ron, and Eliezer Granoun demanded that Israeli defence minister Ariel Sharon explain the settlement council's practices which violates Hebron municipal council rights and jurisdiction.

Kiryat Arba council called on Sharon to bring proceedings against Natshe, claiming he was "a PLO agent." (Translation from Arabic dailies)

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Military Close Nablus School, Block University Road

Educational institutions have borne the brunt of Israeli responses to clashes in the occupied territories which continued sporadically all week.

Ten students including the student council at Al Najah university were arrested and the Qadri Tuqan high school was closed for a month, January 11. Though no order was issued Al Najah University has been effectively closed since January 10. At least five Israeli settlers were reported to have sustained injuries as a result of stone throwing incidents in various parts of the West Bank.

Many of the clashes occurred in Nablus where there have been periodic demonstrations for over a month now. On January 8 Al Najah campus was roadblocked during classes to stop a delegation of Tel Aviv University students meeting colleagues on campus. The delegation eventually suceeded in getting to the meeting by taking back routes into the univeristy. There were reports of physical clashes with troops.

The next day students held a rally and portraits of the Palestinian leader, Yasir Arafat, were hung on the walls along with Palestinian flags. At the rally students made speeches and the festival ended peacefully.

That evening, 12 Israeli soldiers raided the campus, and tore down placards and Arafat's portrait. The soldiers also took ID cards of six employees and ordered them to pick them up from the local military headquarters. The military presence in the city was stepped up and patrols increased.

Soldiers entered campus again January 10, searched the administration offices, and set up roadblocks around campus turning back students and staff turning up for classes. All nine members of the student council, summoned by the military, were arrested.

The Nablus military governor announced that Qadri Tuqan school would be closed for a month, January 10. He cited repeated demonstrations as the reason.

THIS WEEK'S CENSORSHIP

Following is a breakdown of censorship cuts for issue 141, January 14, 1983.

Number of original articles submitted	23
Number of articles totally censored out	8
Number of articles mutilated beyond use	1
Number of articles partially censored but used	4
Number of articles passed	10

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IN THE KNESSET

Zayyad Exposes Ansar Conditions

"Stop the brutality, stop the torture," MK Tawfiq Zayyad said in the Knesset, January 4. "Torture and physical liquidation will not break the spirit of those prisoners – prisoners of freedom who fight for the rights of their people to gain a durable peace and self-determination."

His speech was made in a week when several former prisoners reported conditions in Israel's detention centres in various publications abroad.

In his speech Zayyad, the mayor of Nazareth, demanded the release of all Palestinian Prisoners of War in exchange for Israelis captured by PLO fighters. Zayyad's demand came in a speech supporting his proposal of a full debate on "the conditions of Palestinian Prisoners of War in Israeli jails" January 4, 1983.

The proposal was voted down by all the members of the government coalition.

"What distinguishes this case," Zayyad told Israeli Knesset members, "is the physical and psychological torture to which the Palestinian prisoners have been exposed. Many of them were killed under torture.

"Another element in this case is the Israeli authorities' conspiracy of silence in that it concealed and refused to release any information about the (prisoners') numbers, names, and their places of detention. In addition the prisoners' families and the representatives of international charitable institutions were banned from visiting the Palestinian prisoners.

"In spite of this conspiracy of silence, several reports were released from the prisoners themselves and several international organisations."

Zayyad asserted in his speech that the majority of Palestinian prisoners held by Israel are civilians and were arrested under the pretext that they associated with the PLO. Zayyad said that Palestinian prisoners are being detained at Ansar jail, located south of Nabatia; the military prison near Atlit; Sidon school, Safa citrus company located south of Sidon; the old Shmuel Harofeh hospital; Megiod military jail, the military headquarters in Tyre (destroyed last year) and in Hebron and other prisons in Israel.

Ansar The Worst Prison

According to MK Zayyad, reports about the Palestinian prisoners of war confirm that conditions in Ansar are the worst. Some reports assert that Ansar jail contains 15,000 Palestinian prisoners, some of them elderly men. Israel last month issued a statement listing 6,043 prisoners they say are held by them. Amnesty International, the London-based human rights organisation reported, August 9, 1982 that 10,000 people are held prisoner in Ansar. The Israeli daily **Davar** pointed out November 29, 1982, that the number is 6000. **The Jerusalem Post** has printed figures of 4000 and 5000. All reports agree that the Palestinians are treated as prisoners of war.

Al Quds daily reported that two Palestinian detainees released, October 11, and now living in Ain al-Hilweh camp said that Israeli soldiers interrogate Palestinians about their personal lives, their sex life, hobbies, whether they drink wine, their political opinions and even if they consider bull-fighting to be legitimate. Prisoners at Ansar, they said, were ordered not to move during the night and they were heavily beaten if they did. Palestinian prisoners were forbidden to go to the toilet at night.

The released prisoners complained of lack of medicines in the camp. They said that only one razor blade and one bar of soap is issued to each group of 25 detainees. International Committee of the Red Cross delegates said they are attempting to convince the Israeli authorities to treat any Palestinian who was caught carrying weapon as a PoW and the rest as detained civilians.

On November 1 and December 11, two stories about the torture of prisoners were reported in the Lebanese , **Al Safir** and the French daily **Liberation**.

In **Al Safir**, a Palestinian prisoner who was detained for two months gave this account: "I was arrested with others July 2. We were blindfolded by our vests, and crammed into a bus while Israeli soldiers were shooting continuously. We were tranferred to the Safa company where they started the first stage of interrogation, using incessant beatings and insults. At night we slept in the open without matresses or blankets. Meals are one tomato and a mouldy slice of bread. The legs, arms shoulders and teeth of many of us were broken during interrogation.

"We were 88. . . . when the bus stopped at Nahariyya, a group of women got on and started beating and insulting us. The buses continued. During the journey, soldiers stole LL8,200 49 watches, 11 gold rings and 30 gold necklaces from us. We were transferred to a jail where we were severely beaten.

"The following day, they took off our clothes and sprayed us with DDT. Then they started another round of interrogations, during which we were severely beaten on all parts of our bodies. When any of us demanded to drink water during the extremely hot weather, Israeli soldiers urinated in our mouths using rubber pipes.

"Many prisoners died as a result of torture and the soldiers left their corpses among us. The following day we were transferred to another jail where there were 50 prisoners to a tent, who were not allowed to go to the toilet outside."

Liberation's Story

In the **Liberation** story, a prisoner who was detained in Ansar jail for 155 days explains what happened to him: "I was arrested along with others in June. We were taken to Safa, near Sidon. They kept us for two days under the scorching heat and stoppped us from covering our heads, even with our hands. We were then transferred to a jail inside Israel. All the time they beat us.

"They laid us on special tables that have holes for legs and arms, and beat us with sticks and iron rods. I was transferred to Ansar where I saw with my own eyes the deaths of several Palestinian prisoners as a result of torture. When the prisoners revolted during the **Id al-Fitr** feast, soldiers opened fire at them, three were killed and eight were injured." (Translation: Al Ittihad, 11, 1, 83, Al Quds 12, 1, 83)

SIX ISRAELIS KILLED

NON-STOP WAR IN LEBANON

Six Israeli soldiers were killed, and 23 others injured in two major military operations carried out against the Israeli army in South Lebanon, January 7 and 9. Israeli military observers note that Palestinian and Lebanese resistance fighters are using new techniques based on a new strategy in their attacks against Israeli targets.

Lebanese dailies reported that Israeli troop reinforcements were seen heading towards the front lines in the Beqa'a Valley. The troop movement was coupled with war threats from Israeli generals. An Israeli bus carrying soldiers going southward was ambushed near the town of Armoun, six kilometres south of Beirut, January 7. Twenty-one Israeli soldiers were injured in the attack, which involved the use of bazooka shells, and automatic weapons. **Al Fajr** daily said, "the Palestinian fighters managed to withdraw to their base safely."

An Israeli military spokesman admitting the attack and said troops closed the area and mounted a search for the attackers. The spokesman claimed that one of the attackers was killed. According to the spokesman, none of the Israelis were badly wounded.

In another attack a remote controlled bomb exploded under the jeep which was passing Ras al-Ain near Rashidiyeh refugee camp, January 9. An anonymous caller told **Agence France Presse** office in Beirut that the Lebanese National Resistance Movement had ambushed the jeep killing six soldiers and wounding two others. An Israeli military spokesman claimed that one soldier was wounded.

Israeli daily **Al Hamishmar** said, after the operation, that "the PLO has developed a new strategy of increasing military operations against the Israeli army." The paper quoted the London **Observer** political commentator, Patrick Seale, who said that he learned of the strategy at recent meetings with Palestinian leaders.

In eastern Lebanon, Israeli tanks and armoured vehicles were seen heading towards the cease fire lines in the Beqa'a Valley. Lebanese daily **Al Nahar** which carried the news added that Israeli troops carried out military exercises near the front lines, using live ammunition. Israeli war planes flew reconnaisance flights over the Beqa'a Valley, January 10.

The latest Israeli troop movement was described by political observers as "a threat signal" to Syria, which was reported, last week, to be building strategic anti-aircraft launching pads for SAM-5 missiles around Damascus. (Translations: Local dailies 8-11, 1, 83)

CAWL TO CAMPAIGN FOR POW RELEASE

The Committee Against the War in Lebanon decided, January 7, to step up its activities to get Israel out of Lebanon and to campaign for the release of Palestinian and Lebanese prisoners at Ansar.

The decision was taken by the CAWL national council meeting in Tel Aviv. A communique issued at the end of the meeting said: "After seven months the war in Lebanon is continuing and the talks in Khalde and Kiryat Shemona do not show any readiness on the side of Israel to get out of the Lebanon quagmire."

CAWL said it will "act by any means" to get an "immediate and unconditional withdrawal."

The committee announced a new campaign against the detention "of more than 7000 Palestinians and Lebanese in Ansar." CAWL will demand, the communique said, "the liquidation of the camp and the liberation of all detainees." They also announced a demonstration will be held, January 27, at the next meeting of the Histadrut General Council at kibbutz Shfayim. CAWL will protest the organisation's recent decision "to continue to build illegal settlements in the occupied territories."

The organisation, a coalition of left parties and individuals, also protested "harassment by Haifa police against CAWL activists in Haifa." They announced a forthcoming "national demonstration in solidarity with the peace fighters in the Carmel."

Hebron. . .

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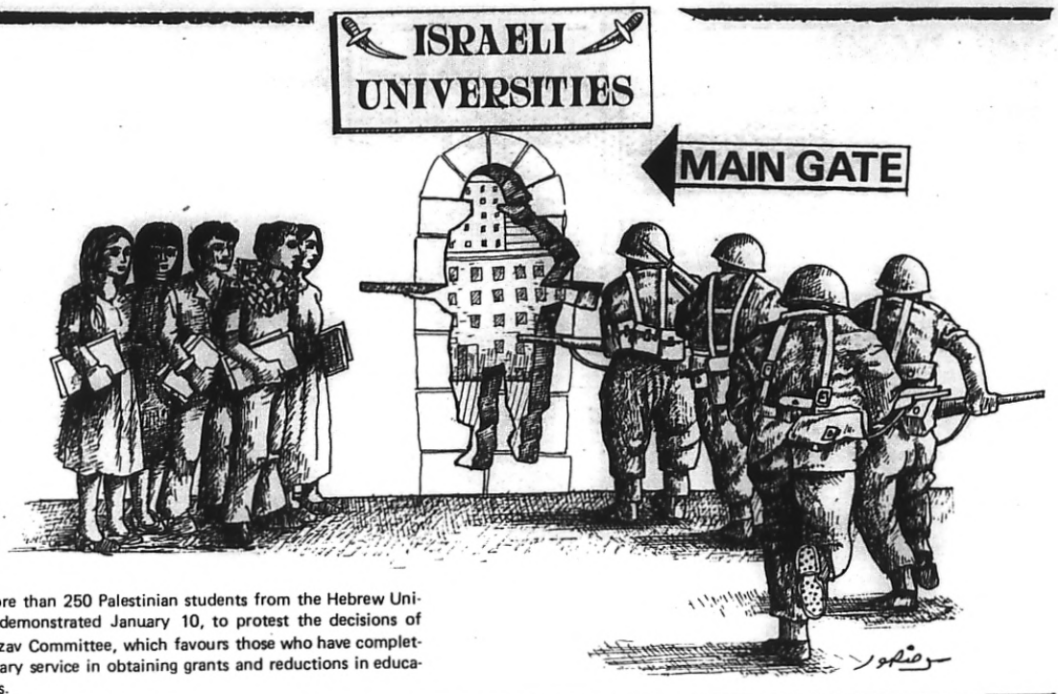
Palestinian residents in the area told **Al Fajr** that settlers want them to give up their land and acknowledge that it is theirs.

Earlier the municipality had refused to receive a letter sent from the Kiryat Arba council. Acting-mayor Mustafa Natshe explained to **Al Fajr** that the muncipality only deals with the Israeli military authorities and that he is "not ready to deal with the settlers."

Since the establishment of Kiryat Arba in 1974, there have been a constant stream of complaints from Palestinian residents in Hebron of settler harassment.



More than 250 Palestinian students from the Hebrew University demonstrated January 10, to protest the decisions of the Katzav Committee, which favours those who have completed military service in obtaining grants and reductions in education fees.

Police Raid Jalazoun Club on Election Night

Troops drove several armoured vehicles into Jalazoun refugee camp near Ramallah at 1:00 am January 8 and clashed with Palestinian residents in the alleys of the camp. No injuries or arrests occurred.

Troops arrived as scores of young men were in the camp club preparing for its annual election. About midnight, after they had finished arranging the names of voters and the lists of candidates, club activists started singing patriotic songs and dancing a traditional **dabkeh**. An hour later the Israeli army broke in.

Muhammad Ali Ghazaleen, 34, a construction worker, told **Al Fajr** "while we were singing somebody entered the camp shouting 'the army is coming, the army is coming.' Immediately we closed the club and Israeli soldiers chased us into camp alleys."

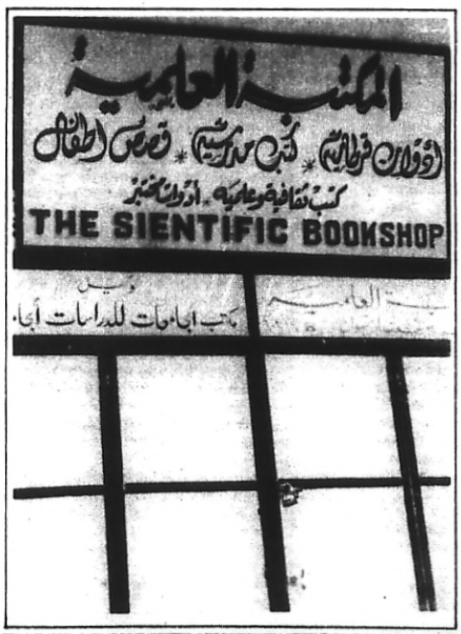
There were several reports of youths stoning the pursuing troops. By sunrise Israeli soldiers erected check-posts at the entrances to the camp and registered residents' ID cards as they were leaving for work.

Military Demand Loyalty Oath From Friends School Teachers

Israeli military authorities summoned, January 6, Nancy Nye principal of the Friends Girls School in Ramallah to the local military compound and informed her that she had to sign a new work permit, **The Jerusalem Post** reported, January 7. Nye along with four other teachers from the same school were also required to sign a statement denouncing the PLO. They were also told that they will all be barred from teaching unless they sign.

Nye and the four other teachers, all of whom have US passports and are from the Quakers Association refused to sign and said that they would first have to consult their superiors in Richmond, Illinois, USA.

A few weeks ago, the Quakers headquarters told its members that the Israeli military authorities had cancelled their demand that all foreign lecturers sign a political undertaking denouncing the PLO. The information was apparently based on a false report broadcast by a US TV network. (Translation: Al Quds, 8, 1, 83)



GAZA BOOKSHOP CLOSED – NO REASON GIVEN

The Israeli military authorities in Gaza December 22, 1982 ordered Talat Safadi's "Scientific Bookshop" closed for six months. The order, served last week, stated no official reason for the closure.

Safadi's shop was closed twice last year after army raids netted "banned" publications on the premises. Talat was twice arrested, once for eight days, and his eight-year-old son, Jamal, was also detained and questioned.

After the first arrest, Talat's lawyer asked the legal advisor to the military governor for a copy of the authorities' official list of books banned in the occupied territories. The request was ignored.

"I openly purchased all the books and magazines in my shop from Jerusalem and Galilee publishers and had no indication any were considered illegal," Talat Safadi commented. An acquaintance, infuriated by the closure, quipped: "if only they'd order closed the prison doors for six months — for illegal activities."

Nazareth lawyer Walid Fahoum plans to appeal the closure before the legal advisor to the military governor in Gaza in late January.

Jerusalem Shopkeeper Town-Arrested

Abed Dandis, 32, the owner of the Cairo Furniture Shop in Jerusalem has been placed under town arrest for six months. The administrative military order, signed by the commander of the central region, Uri Orr, runs from January 1 to June 30. Dandis received the order by mail in January.

Under the stipulations of the order, Dandis has to remain at home from sunset to sunrise, never leave Jerusalem and sign in at the Bab al-Khalil (Jaffa Gate) police station daily. The order was issued for "security reasons."

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Publisher:
Paul A. Ajlouny
Editor-in-chief:
H. S. Siniora
Managing editor:
Sam'an Khoury
Hatem al-Ta'ee Street
Tel: (02)281035
POB 19315
East Jerusalem

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BIT-BY-BIT ANNEXATION

Kiryat Arba settlers near Hebron demolished January 8 the house of Palestinian Zaid Ja'abari in Hebron claiming that the house was built without a permit. The owner who has a valid license from Hebron municipality filed a complaint with the Israeli police who visited the site and said they would report on the case.

Other settlers destroyed electric pylons claiming that they are erected on land belonging to Kiryat Arba settlement. The land, on which Kiryat Arba settlement was built, was expropiated from Hebron residents. . . . . .

. . . . . .

It is reasonable to believe that the Israelis, knowing the dangers of a declared annexation of the West Bank to Israel, are moving on the road to annexation in bits and pieces.

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ARAFAT: 'READY TO TALK ABOUT PEACE IN PALESTINE'

by Mohammad Tarbush

PARIS — Salwa, a seaside hotel on the outskirts of Tunis, has been converted into the temporary headquarters of the Palestine Liberation Organization. In that unlikely setting a few days ago I met Yasir Arafat, chairman of the executive committee of the PLO, for the first time. It was past midnight when I was finally ushered into his office.

I have never belonged to any political organization, much less the PLO, but I knew Mr. Arafat's popularity among my fellow Palestinians. Most Israelis regard him as a terrorist. Many in the West have shared this view, at least until recently. Much of the world ranks him among the leading freedom fighters of the century . To most Palestinians he is simply the national leader.

Seen face to face at Salwa that night and on several succeeding nights, he came across like the head of a family whose youngest daughter has been kidnapped: her release has become his raison d'etre, he appears to be devoid of self-indulgence, an evidently religious man who eats and dresses simply, works hard and sleeps little.

A typical Arafat day is spent in official meetings in the morning, with some sleep in the afternoon and then organizational work through the night, interrupted by visiting delegations and the press.

This has also become the rhythm of life of many of the men, women and children around him. It struck me, an outsider, that these abnormal hours contribute to making the man and his entourage disorganized.

Having lived in the West for the last 18 years, I was aware of the way Mr. Arafat is often projected in the media. I was going to ask why he never seemed to be clean-shaven, or why he insists on speaking to the Western media in his imperfect English, to the detriment of the ideas he tries to communicate. As we sat down to talk in Arabic, his bearing discouraged such questions as frivolous.

"I am an engineer forced to carry arms," he said. "I had a fortune in Kuwait, but with my country occupied it mattered little."

From his office. Mr. Arafat appears to follow in close detail almost any event concerning the Palestinian people, as well as listening to analyses of the international situation, to the latest news from "the front," to his comrades' accommodation problems and even to reports of their family wrangles.

This concern for people may explain his popularity. A Palestinian intellectual told me that Mr. Arafat is the only Arab leader who can walk among his people without fear.

Shortly before our meeting, Mr. Arafat had received a group of Norwegian photographers, who showed him slides of the massacre of Palestinian and Lebanese civilians at Sabra and Shatila. Recalling their visit, his eyebrows tightened, as in a frown. He leaned forward and said quietly, "You should see the slides." In a slow movement he drew back into his chair, his face slightly contorted, eyes clouded and staring at the grain of the table separating us as if he could see the images. "You should see the slides. Little girls raped and molested. Men's noses sliced away. The butchers cut off the fingers of those women victims wearing rings and took them away."

Violence has caused so much suffering on all sides in the Middle East, I offered.

"America did not honor its agreement with us," he said after a moment's silence. Through Philip Habib, it had accepted responsibility for the protection of Palestinian civilians and institutions as one of the conditions for PLO withdrawal from Beirut.

This was not Mr. Arafat's only source of disappointment with the United States. He said the Reagan administration had yet to free itself from the undertakings Henry Kissinger gave to Israel when he committed the Americans never to talk to the PLO. This in spite of the fact that Mr. Kissinger twice contacted the PLO through the Egyptian government during the 1976 civil war in Lebanon, when the PLO played a decisive role in protecting the American community in Beirut.

In Mr. Arafat's view, President Reagan assumed mistakenly that after Israel's invasion of Lebanon the PLO would be liquidated as a viable organization. Now, apparently, in their briefings to American officials, America's friends in the Arab world and elsewhere have been telling them otherwise.

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OPINION

SAME TRENCH AGAINST OPPRESSION

by Said al-Ghazali

A wave of protest and anger is still sweeping the southern Tel Aviv slum quarter, Kfar Shalem or Salameh, after the murder of an young Israeli man, Shimon Yehoshua, 26, by the police December 23. In spite of the cold weather, 2500 residents, most from Jewish slums neighbourhoods, demonstrated before Tel Aviv municipality January 8. The demonstrators demanded a freeze on demolitions of "illegal houses" in Kfar Shalem and a probe of circumstances leading to Yehoshua's death. The demonstrators' placards read: "(Tel Aviv Mayor Shlomo) Lahat resign" and "justice to the south." The continued protest, during the last two weeks, shows up the social crisis between the governing class of Israelis of Western origin and the Eastern Israeli poor.

The incident occurred when an Israeli bulldozer belonging to the Tel Aviv municipality accompanied by Israeli municipal inspectors and crowds of armed guards and policemen went to Shimon Yehoshua's house to demolish one unlicensed room he had added. News reporters affirmed that members of the Yehoshua family appealed to the municipal inspectors to wait for an injunction from the High Court which was on its way. Meanwhile, Shimon drew his pistol and fired. The police claimed that Shimon fired at the police below, but eyewitnesses said he fired at the roof of a nearby synagogue. He was immediately shot in the head by a police officer.

This incident has created an atmosphere of sharp tension and aroused Kfar Shalem's anger. Immediately after the incident, Yemenite, Iraqi, Iranian and other Eastern Jews attempted to demonstrate. Israeli police arrested 10 people. Kfar Shalem residents denounced Shlomo Lahat, who signed the demolition order, accusing him of murder and threatening to take revenge on him.

On Saturday December 25, anti-Nazi slogans and swastikas were drawn on the walls in Western Jewish areas of Tel Aviv and several cars were vandalised.

On Thursday, January 6, Kfar Shalem residents forced a delegation consisting of Israeli Knesset members and the Tel Aviv mayor, with many armed guards and policemen to retreat from entering their quarter. They raised slogans such as: "We are land protectors and not thiefs," "Justice for the South," "Lahat is the murderer."

What happened in Kfar Shalem and the on-going wave of protest and anger reveals class discrimination between Eastern and Western Jews. The 500 Kfar Shalem families of Iraqi, Yemenite, and Iranian Jews are living in a quarter full of garbage amid sewage and dirt.

Because of the severe housing crisis, Kfar Shalem residents have not found any solution but adding some rooms to their existing houses. Drora Yehoshua, sister of the murdered man, told reporters that, "Tel Aviv municipality prevented us from building another room. Is it permitted, however, for 19 people to live under one leaking roof with rotting walls with no room for beds." Michael Yudelman, an Israeli journalist said: "When you walk through alleys of Kfar Shalem, you'll observe sewage and dirts on roads, and the piles of garbage in half-built houses and rubble."

Four years ago, during his electoral campaign, Lahat promised that "no demolition would be issued against a family that built illegally." A resident in Kfar Shalem told reporters: "The Israeli authorities ignored us for 40 years, but we have dignity and honour. We refuse to graze like sheep here or there or in any place. We want (a decent) quality of life."

This case reveals to us the hard conditions in which Eastern Jews live in Israel. It also shows another side of the Israeli authorities' attitude. The Israeli press has not been idle in this case. **Haaretz** (December 27) defended the Tel Aviv municipality and denounced Kfar Shalem residents: "For years, stealing of land in south Tel Aviv has been happening, and in daylight. State land has been occupied by law violaters who build illegal constructions." **Maariv** said the same day: "The demolition order which police and the municipal inspectors went to carry out was issued legally. The phenomenon of occupying state land, and constructing for agricultural and building reasons has spread through the whole country, therefore, it is the duty of the authorities to hamper creating stable facts by stealing state lands."

Residents of the occupied territories who openly declare their support for oppressed Jews would like to direct their attention to what's happening in the West Bank. Here, too, demolition of houses occurs, people are killed and other violent acts are perpetrated in villages and camps. We assert that we, Palestinian residents of camps, villages and towns, face a double oppression: national oppression, because we demand, like other nations of the world, self-determination; and class oppression — because of the fact that the majority of the Palestinian people are unskilled workers exploited in Israeli workshops and factories.

As we extend our hands to the Israeli Jews, we do not create "sectarian conflict," (**Maariv** claimed the incident cannot be attributed to disputes between Western and Eastern Jews) but because we stand in the same trench against repression.

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Did he then believe, I asked, that American foreign policy might be changing?

He seemed in no hurry to reply. I was disturbed by this silence, thinking that our meeting was coming to an abrupt end. I looked around for a distraction and was grateful for a knock on the door. It was a housekeeper coming to clear up the dinner plates. What did he have for dinner? I asked mechanically.

"Salad, bread, white cheese and honey," he answered, looking rather surprised. "Americans care a lot about health food." I said, trying to pick up the thread of the conversation. He agreed, adding with satisfaction that the American public was becoming more conscious of the justice of the Palestinian cause.

He returned to my question. Alexander Haig perceived the Middle East in narrow militarist terms, he said. The Palestinians were a rock in the path of Mr. Haig's strategic designs. They simply had to go. "Like a construction engineer asking for the removal of obstructions from his working site, Haig conspired with the Israelis to wipe the Palestinians off the Middle East political map, but they underestimated our latent force. They forgot that even the most modern arsenal cannot defeat people armed with justice."

"I welcomed the arrival of Shultz," Mr. Arafat continued. Mr. Shultz seemed to recognize that the conflict is about real people, not objects to be shifted around. "But the American administration has yet to grasp the fact that without us, the Israelis will never be accepted in the Arab world."

PEACE IN PALESTINE...

"Even if Israeli soldiers roam the souks of Arab capitals, as they now do in Beirut, that will not make the Arabs accept them," Mr. Arafat said. "But I can even imagine Israeli children in our schools, Israeli nurses, doctors, working in Arab hospitals, once the Palestinian problem is solved justly."

He characterized the Reagan plan as "positive," but compared it to "a car trying to run on three wheels — the missing element being recognition of the Palestinians' right to self-determination and to having their own state." He said the American administration should know by now that, in the Middle East, bilateral treaties alone could lead at best to the forging of diplomatic relations, but not to normalization. "We are the key to acceptability and normalization," he said.

I told him my impression that the PLO tended to react to events rather than take the initiative. Why not act instead of react? He gave me the vague answer of a politician (" There are so many factors to balance...") while insisting that there had been initiatives. The decision to accept a Palestinian state in the West Bank, for instance.

He said he was encouraged by the fact that important segments of Jewish public opinion, both in the West and in Israel itself, had come to see the need for a Palestinian settlement. "I would like to express my respect and admiration to the 400,000 Israelis who protested against the massacre," he said.

And then: "I am ready to be interviewed by Israeli television to talk about peace in Palestine. To discuss peace in Palestine, I welcome any Jew from anywhere."

I asked if he had a mandate from his organization to break this new ground. He told me the central committee had agreed to convene the Palestine National Council in Algeria toward the middle of February.

He said that in his efforts to press for a settlement based on a confederation between the future Palestinian state and Jordan, he had made significant progress toward rapprochement with King Hussein. In these efforts he said he had succeeded in mobilizing the support of the mainstream of Palestinian leaders and constituencies.

"Of course there are differences," he said, "but I am leading freedom fighters, not slaves. Everyone has the right to express himself. To test the popularity of our policies, let those in doubt hold an independent referendum, particularly among Palestinians living in the West Bank and Gaza."

As I stepped out the door into a corridor, a boy of four was running toward me in front of his mother. I blocked his way and said, using the Arabic word for nephew, "Where are you from, Amo?" "From Jaffa," came the matter-of-fact reply.

January 5, 1983

GOON SQUADS

A document complied by the Peace Now movement, published by the Israeli newspaper **Haaretz**, stated that the Local Council for Israeli Settlements in the West Bank has recently formed special units to watch over building operations undertaken by Arab residents in the occupied territories and that "the manner of response by these councils to building will differ from that of the military authorities."

The movement called on the military authorities to intervene to prevent acts of violence by settlers towards the Arab population.

A LIFETIME IN JAIL

An Israeli military court sentenced a Palestinian youth, Taleb Jarara, 17, to 25 years imprisonment on a charge of shooting at a number of Israeli vehicles near the town of Eilat.

The radio added that the youth had been living with his family in a Palestinian refugee camp in Syria before joining the Palestinian resistance movement.

CHURCH BURNERS STILL UNNAMED

Israeli Interior Minister Yusef Burg has asked the general police commissioner to discover the identity of the persons who tried to set fire to the Russian Church in Ein Karem, in West Jerusalem.

This is the fifth time in two weeks that Christian holy sites have been subjected to attacks by unidentified people.

MORE TIME AT HOME

JERUSALEM — The Israeli authorities have renewed town restriction orders on engineer Ibrahim Daqqaq and trade unionist Abed Abu Diab for a period of six months. This is the third successive time the orders have been issued.

EXPULSIONS TOTALLED

TEL AVIV — In 1982 the Israeli Interior Ministry issued 225 expulsion orders. Three of them were for security reasons, including one to a Jew, while the rest were to persons in Israel illegally or who had infiltrated into Israel from Egypt.

Israel radio reported that 146 Egyptians infiltrated into Israel after the Israeli withdrawal from Sinai last year, most of them in search of work.

BUSSING PROBLEMS

BIR ZEIT — A number of Bir Zeit University students complained of the inadequacy of transport between the old and new campuses which sometimes causes the students to be late for lectures.

The students called on those responsible to relieve the problem as soon as possible.

FUNDRAISER

JERUSALEM — The dance and art group of the Kufr Yassif Cultural Centre participated in a student festival at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem. They performed folk plays and songs.

The revenue from the festival is to go towards helping Arab students in the university.

TAX RAIDS

TULKARM — Income tax officials raided shops and cafes in Tulkarm, serving orders demanding payment of bills of up to IS80,000.

COOKED LABOUR STATISTICS

TEL AVIV — According to statistics issued by the Israeli Ministry of Work and Social Welfare, the number of Arab workers from the West Bank and the Gaza Strip working inside Israel in 1982 rose by 3,200 to total 78,200. Arab workers from the occupied territories form 34 percent of building workers, 13 percent of agricultural workers and 45 percent of industrial workers, according to statistics which do not include the vast number of casual and day labourers.

The total percentage of workers from the West Bank and Gaza inside Israel is 5.7 percent, the ministry announced.

MASSIVE BILLS FOR KHAN YUNIS

KHAN YUNIS — The municipality of Khan Yunis is suffering from a huge financial deficit. The Israeli Electricity Company is demanding IS3.6 million from the municipality for the month of December 1982.

COMPENSATION SOUGHT

Resident Mohammed Mahmoud A'twan filed a case against the Histadrut-owned Solel Boneh building company for its refusal to pay compensation to his family after the death of his father who was injured while working for the company.

The deceased man, Mahmoud A'twan, 50, from Hebron, fell at work in Tel Aviv, Nov. 11, 1982 and died instantly. His body was taken to Abu Kabir hospital where an autopsy was performed despite his family's opposition.

TRAVEL RESTRICTION

The Israeli military authorities in Nablus have banned unionist Adel Ghanem, general secretary of the West Bank Workers Union, from travelling to Bethlehem. On Friday December 31 he was sent back when he left Nablus to participate in a meeting of the executive council of the union whose headquarters are in Bethlehem.

WHO'S BOMBING HEBRON?

Israeli police sappers detonated an explosive device which was placed in front of the Israeli licensing department in Hebron. According to **The Jerusalem Post** the glass windows of the building were blown out.

PRISON STRIKE

Political prisoners in Jenin prison have been on hunger strike since January 1 demanding betterment of conditions in the jail. The detainees are complaining that they are held in unlivable conditions and are continuously harassed by the prison guards.

NEW LEAGUE

Local sources in Tulkarm reported that the Israeli 'civil administration' has been pressuring villagers to establish four more Village Leagues in the Tulkarm-Anabta region. Heads of village councils and mukhtars have been summoned to the military compound and told that they will receive financial aid and services if they agree to establish or join the leagues.

The house of Suleiman Safa B'airat in Kufr Malek near Ramallah is marked by the Israeli authorities for demolition after the owner's son, Munther, was arrested December 6 in connection with the killing of Yusef Khatib, the Ramallah area Village League head, 13 months ago. If the demolition is carried out, the eight member family will become homeless.

Three other houses in the area were also marked for demolition after one family member from each house was arrested on charges of participating in the assassination of Yusef Khatib.

SCHOOL OPENED

NABLUS — Studies at the Nablus Industrial School resumed after the Israeli military authorities closed the school last Saturday.

January 6, 1983

PRISONER APPEALS

TEL AVIV — Lawyer Felicia Langer has filed an injunction in the Israeli High Court against the prison administration and the Israeli defence minister demanding that they show reason for forbidding the lawyer permission to meet with her client, Miriam Abed al-Khalil, 30, being held in Neve Tirza prison. The injunction states that Miriam was working in a Palestinian charitable society **al-Najda** in Burj al-Shamali camp near Tyre.

ANTI-WAR DEMO

A silent demonstration took place in Tel Aviv in protest against the continued presence of the Israeli army in Lebanon. Protestors carried banners calling for the release of Israeli prisoners held for their refusal to serve in Lebanon.

GAZA SETTLEMENT OPENED

TEL AVIV — A number of ministers took part in the inauguration of a settlement — Neve Dakalim — which has been established near the chain of 'Gush Katif' settlements near Rafah.

ISRAELI PRISONERS ON TV

Jordanian TV, in its Arabic and Hebrew news broadcasts, showed a film of the eight Israeli prisoners being held by Palestinian forces. The film showed the eight prisoners being given gifts from their families in Israel. Their spokesperson said that they were being well-treated.

LEBANESE ARMY ARRESTS PALESTINIANS . . .

BEIRUT — The Lebanese army reported the arrest of 40 Palestinians and progressive Lebanese during a campaign of police raids in the southern suburbs of west Beirut. The army added that those arrested were being accused of supporting the PLO and fighters of the Lebanese national forces.

. . . AS ISRAEL CONTROLS ITS MOVEMENT

BEIRUT — Official Lebanese sources report that Israeli forces prevented a convoy of the Lebanese army from heading south and forced them to return to Beirut.

January 7, 1983

GREEN PATROL NISI 'D

TEL AVIV — The Israeli High Court issued an order nisi against the Israeli defence minister, the

The house of Tareq Mohammad Ahmad Othman in Kufr Malek — one of the three threatened with demolition which will leave the eighteen member family without a home.

chief-of-staff and the Green Patrol demanding reason be shown for the continued detention of 11 camels belonging to a Naqab Beduin, within a period of 10 days. The Israeli authorities grabbed the camels a month ago. The judge also issued an order preventing the "damage, slaughter or sale of the camels."

NO NEW BUS

HIZMA — The Israeli authorities have refused to issue a license for a bus bought by the people of Hizma to travel on the Hizma-Jerusalem line. It would have replaced an old bus presently operating the route.

EXIT POSSIBLE

NABLUS — The travel ban imposed more than two months ago on the residents of Balata and Askar refugee camps and neighbouring areas was lifted.

DOUBLE HURDLE?

UNESCO has granted Jordan US $100,000 following an agreement to list Arab Jerusalem as "under Israeli occupation" on the special list of sites important to world cultural heritage. An official in the Israeli delegation at UNESCO asserted that this means UNESCO recognises Jerusalem as Jordanian.

PRISON STRIKE SPREADS

Prisoners holding visit and hunger strikes in jails in the occupied West Bank announced that their strike now includes Nablus, Hebron and Jenin prisons. Prisoners are protesting against the extremely bad conditions and harsh treatment which detainees and prisoners face.

21 ISRAELIS WOUNDED

BEIRUT — Members of the Lebanese national resistance launched an armed attack on an Israeli bus carrying soldiers south from the Lebanese capital. An Israeli military spokesperson confirmed the attack and said that 21 Israeli soldiers were wounded, some slightly.

ARAB DAY FOR THE FIGHT AGAINST ILLITERACY

BIR ZEIT — Today, the Arab Day for the Fight Against Illiteracy, the Bir Zeit Charitable Women's Society held a celebration in the Deir al-Latin hall. Guests included the Bir Zeit University Student Council.

January 8, 1983

OK DEMANDED FOR EXPANSIONISM

MK Geula Cohen of the Tehiya movement has declared that Israel must couple its position on peace negotiations with the precondition that the participants to these negotiations agree on the "right of the Jewish people to settle in all parts of Eretz Israel."

FURTHER TRAVEL RESTRICTIONS

NABLUS — The Israeli authorities have issued new measures forbidding travel to the East Bank or Egypt on receipts for temporary ID cards. Only people with personal IDs or those under 16 will be allowed out.

SETTLEMENT COSTS

GAZA — David Levy, Israeli minister of housing and settlement and deputy prime minister, declared in a press conference held in the new settlement of Neve Dekalim in the Gaza Strip that in the last six years IS800 million has been devoted to establishing eight new settlements in Gaza.

NAJAH BLOCKADED

NABLUS — The Israeli authorities have set up road blocks at the entrance to Najah National University, preventing employees of the university from entering.

January 9, 1983

MASRI-MUBARAK MEET

CAIRO — Egyptian President Husni Mubarak met the head of the board of trustees of Najah National University, Hikmet Masri. After the meeting Masri stated that he had heard President Mubarak explain the Egyptian peace effort for a comprehensive and just solution to the Middle East issue.

Masri added that Egypt, the largest Arab state, was working for a solution to the problem. He said that the Arabs must act quickly to invest in the various initiatives, including that of President Reagan and the resolutions of the Arab summit in Fez.

EXIT PERMIT

JERUSALEM — The Israeli attorney general has permitted Jerusalem resident Suheila Shafiq Ahmed Abu Sneineh to travel to Jordan, according to a letter sent to her from the attorney general via her lawyer. The Jerusalem resident has been forbidden to travel for three years.

DEMONSTRATION IN NABLUS

Youths threw stones at an ambulance belonging to the settlement of Elon Moreh as it passed through the centre of Nablus. The ambulance driver fired into the air. Four persons from Nablus were charged with inciting to demonstrate.

PLAGUE OF RATS

TULKARM — The number of rats has increased noticeably, especially in the eastern quarter of town, Tulkarm town council announced today. A two month old child was recently attacked by a rat which bit off part of its nose.

MILITARY GOVERNOR STONED

The Israeli military governor of Ramallah escaped injury after his car was stoned in the town. The windshield of his car was broken in the attack. Israeli soldiers closed the street where the incident took place and arrested several youths.

DHEISHEH POLICE FIRE BOMBED

Two molotov cocktails were thrown at the police station across from Dheisheh refugee camp near Bethlehem. No one was injured. Israeli soldiers closed the area after the incident and conducted a search. No arrests were reported.

JAIL 'SECURITY'

LYDDA — The military court in Lydda sentenced Bassam Attrash to 18 years imprisonment on security charges. Ali Khalid Mohammad Sabah was sentenced to 12 years imprisonment on the same charge. The two have been held since September 1982. Both are from Jerusalem.

January 10, 1983

MK HARASSED

Charlie Biton, leader of the Black Panthers and MK of the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality, returned to the country, only to be "honoured" with "special treatment" at Lydda airport, according to ITIM news agency. Customs officials rigorously searched his luggage.

Biton had visited the US and while there held a press conference at UN headquarters during which he accused the Israeli government of neglecting Jews of Eastern origin and ignoring their social problems on the pretext of the presence of the "Arab enemy." He said that the government was spending vast sums of money on establishing colonial settlements instead of working to raise the standard of social services.

SCHOOL'S OUT

NABLUS — The Israeli military authorities closed Kadri Tuqan Secondary School in Nablus for one month. The decision to close the school was taken following demonstrations at the school and the wounding of an Israeli border guard by stone throwers.

ISRAELI ECONOMY

The budget presented by Israeli Finance Minister Aridor to the Knesset for approval, proposes that Israeli wages and the standard of living will not change from that of last year. Inflation, Aridor hopes, will be reduced while prices will rise by five percent monthly. The shekel will be devalued by the same monthly percentage. No new taxes will be imposed in the new year. Aridor said he expects the rate of unemployment to increase to 5.2 percent; ie, 67,000 people unemployed as opposed to 64,000 during 1982.

PRISONERS SPEAK OUT

BEQA'A — Six of the eight Israeli soldiers, held prisoner here, said that the Palestinian fighters showed rare courage in the battles in Lebanon. They reported in an interview with a Qatar newspaper, that the PLO is treating them "well and humanely," despite the bad treatment which Palestinian prisoners receive in Israel jails.

The six prisoners condemned the Sabra and Shatila massacres and all acts of murder and destruction against Palestinian and Lebanese civilians.

NABLUS CURFEW

The Israeli military imposed a curfew on the Qasabeh quarter in the centre of Nablus, following a demonstration by young people in the town. A number of young people threw stones at Israeli vehicles.

NO MEETINGS

KHAN YUNIS — The Military Department of the Interior in the Gaza Strip issued orders to clubs and societies in the area banning meetings, groups, parties or exhibitions without prior permission. The order also applies to annual general meetings.

NABLUS DEMO

NABLUS — At a demonstration in Nablus, students from Mazouz al-Masri school, threw stones at Israeli vehicles. The window of one Israeli army vehicle which was dispersing the demonstrators was smashed.

At a demonstration in al-Bireh, demonstrators threw stones at an Israeli army vehicle and damaged it.

A similar demonstration took place in Dheisheh refugee camp near Bethlehem as well as in other areas of the West Bank.

LIBERATION CELEBRATION

BIR ZEIT — A celebration in honour of the foundation of the PLO was held today at Bir Zeit University and was attended by thousands of students. Speeches were delivered and nationalist songs and poems were recited and a number of youth and university groups performed the Palestinian folk dabka.

NAJAH STUDENTS ALLOWED

Israel army radio reported that a number of members of the Students Council at Najah University have been arrested. The radio claimed that a copy of the PLO Charter had been found in the possession of one of the students. The radio added that the Israeli army also confiscated a number of books during a search of the house of one of the arrested students.

January 11, 1983

SCHOOL IMPROVEMENTS DEMANDED

GAZA — Around 100 headmasters and headmistresses from UNRWA schools in the Gaza Strip contacted the director of UNRWA operations in Gaza, demanding that repairs be made to schools, roofs, furniture and equipment.

SCHOOLS: NO GO AREAS

JENIN — The director of education in the Jenin district has informed headmasters and headmistresses that they are not allowed to enter their schools without prior permission from him.

CASH GRAB

TULKARM — The Israeli military authorities distributed notices headed "Land and Property Taxes" demanding the payment of JD8 per room and JD12 for each dunum of land.

IRON CLAD CURFEW

NABLUS — The military authorities have erected a new iron door at one entrance to the Old City in Nablus in response to stone-throwing by Nablus residents at soldiers during curfew in the area.

STUDENTS FREED

BETHLEHEM — The Israeli military authorities have released the secretary of the Cultural Society at Bethlehem University, Masoud Abu Shai'b, secretary of the Art Society, Abd al-Wahab Alawneh, and two students, Abd al-Nasser al-Jariri and Kamel Hamid, after detaining them for interrogation since December 28. The military authorities summoned the secretary of the Students Council, Nidal Abu Zuluf and his deputy, Iman Abu Attiyeh, for interrogation.

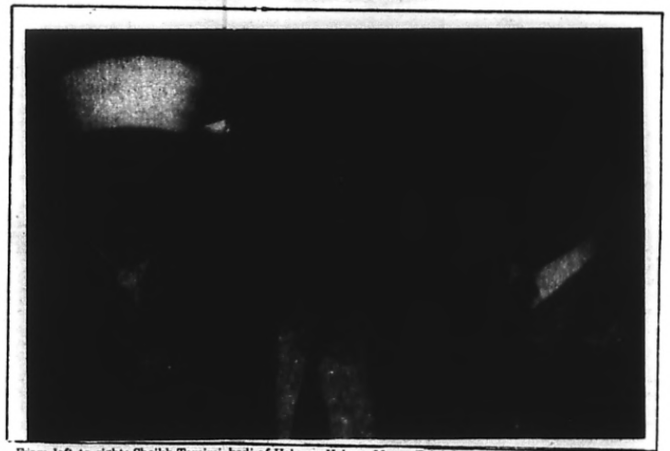
Salah Abdeen jewelry shop at Damascus Gate entrance was broken into on January 12. Watches and other valuables were stolen worth a total of JD11,000.

AL FAJR EXCLUSIVE:

Interview With Hebron Mayor Fahd al-Qawasmi

By Daoud Kuttab

"The solution is in the hands of the US as long as we are weak."



From left to right: Sheikh Tamimi, kadi of Hebron; Hebron Mayor Fahd Qawasmi; Halhoul Mayor Muhammad Milhem at the Palestine National Council meeting in Damascus, 1981. The three were expelled from the West Bank in 1980.

Exiled Mayors of Hebron and Halhoul, Fahd Qawasmi, and Mohammad Milhem, were the most recent Palestinians to meet top US officials – among them Secretary-of-State George Shultz. Al Fajr visited Qawasmi in his newly established home in Amman. Qawasmi's family alternates between Amman and Hebron residences.

In his Amman house, Qawasmi (Abu Khalid), was surrounded by friends and relatives. Discussions centered on the current political and economic situation in the occupied territories, teachers' salaries, ways of continuing **sumud** (steadfastness) and methods of providing employment for the increasing number of new university graduates. Dressed in a smart three-piece suit, the Hebron mayor seemed at home surrounded by Hebronites, drinking local coffee and smoking East Jerusalem-made Imperial cigarettes. As soon as the visitors left, however, he expressed his loneliness at being away from home. He told me that he lives in a house with Turkish and Polish tenants. "People don't know each other here. By contrast, in Hebron, you walk down the main street and everyone says 'hello.' "

Before I had a chance to interview the mayor, he asked me three questions: "What is the real status of the Israeli peace movement? Will Israel agree to withdraw from Gaza and the West Bank, including Jerusalem, if we offer everything it is asking for? What are the real possibilities for a solution during 1983?"

Al Fajr: Your recent visit along with Mayor Milhem to Washington received wide media coverage. Whose initiative was the visit and how do you evaluate the results?

Qawasmi: The visit to Washington was at the invitation of the Palestine Education Foundation. They invited some Palestinian experts to present papers about the situation in the occupied territories. When the US State Department knew of this conference and our arrival, they invited us to meet with Secretary-of-State George Shultz.

Upon receiving the invitation, we went to Tunis in order to discuss the situation with Yasir Arafat and he agreed on the meeting. In fact, we went and spoke to the US officials, congressmen, senators, journalists. Our topics were the Palestinian problem and the just peace which we are seeking.

"I was offered many posts in the Jordanian government and in the PLO, but I refused because I want to return to Hebron."

Fahd Qawasmi

Al Fajr: Did Arafat give you a special message to give to the American officials?

Qawasmi: Abu Ammar did not give us any specific letter or message. He believes that every Palestinian is Abu Ammar and every Palestinian can speak about the cause as if he were Abu Ammar. He told us, "God be with you. Go to the Americans and tell them about our case." We knew Arafat's feeling – that he is for a true and just peace. Upon our return we met with Arafat in Riyad, Saudi Arabia and explained to him what we said and what was told to us, and that all we said was representative of the desires of the leadership of the PLO and the Palestinian people.

Al Fajr: What is your impression of the level of seriousness of the US administration and the seriousness of proposed peaceful solutions during the coming year?

Qawasmi: There is a serious attempt to try to find peace in the Middle East within the context of the American understanding of that peace. There is a difference between the American and the Arab or Palestinian understanding of peace.

Within the American understanding, we felt they were serious when we spoke to Secretary Shultz, US officials and congressmen and senators. We felt they were serious in their talk but not in their actions. Israel has rejected the Reagan plan, refused to freeze settlements, but the United States is continuing with its policies; furthermore, it has increased Israel's share of foreign aid. How can we explain this action as serious?

I asked the Americans whether Reagan's proposals were those of the president or the United States government. They asked why. I said that if it was the program of the US, why not present it to Congress and Senate for a decision to be taken on it. At least then the House and Senate would honour the proposal. But if the White House disagrees with the Congress, who then is responsible for the decision? The US administration or the state department suggests a foreign aid package and Congress increases it by US $400 million. Are there two policies in the US?

It is not enough to be serious in talk, there must be seriousness in action. Settlements are still up and the Israelis are working as if the West Bank and Gaza are part of Israel and not occupied territories. The US has done nothing to stop all that.

Al Fajr: Do you feel that a dialogue between the US and the PLO is possible?

Qawasmi: Until now, we haven't been told that the US is prepared to talk or recognize the PLO, unless the PLO accepts the American conditions, primarily recognising Israel, UN resolutions 242 and 338. I asked the Americans a question to which I never received an answer: 'You ask us to recognise Israel, do I understand that in return you will recognise our right to self-determination and to set up an independent state on our national land? I received no answer.

The Americans claim that they cannot unilaterally recognise us without going to the Congress and Senate, but they don't want to know that we are a people, we have our institutions, a national council, a central council, an executive committee – we also cannot bypass them.

Al Fajr: Four months have passed since the Reagan plan was announced. Do you agree with the belief that the solution is in the hands of the US?

Qawasmi: I don't accept this saying. The solution is in the hands of the US as long as we are weak. If the picture changes then the solution will be in our hands. I say, truthfully, that the US has an important role and we don't deny that role, but do we want a solution from an American perspective or from the Arab perspective? If from the American perspective, then the US has all the cards. If we want a solution from the Arab perspective, then there must be cards in our hands for the US to respect us.

Since the cards are now in American hands, the balance of power is in favour of Israel. So the side which can affect the balance is the US, which supports Israel militarily, financially and politically. That is why we go to the US. If the balance was evened out, the US would have less cards, and we more.

Al Fajr: And how can the balance of power change?

Qawasmi: With a united Arab position, an able military power, a clear political position towards Israel and the US, to better control our economc, political and military resources, all this is possible. Then we would be able to stop Israel's free-wheeling aggressions. Otherwise, no one can change Israel's stand except the US. If we talk about the logic of power, Israel has the ability to say what it wants so long as it has the power to carry out what it wants.

Al Fajr: There is another power, the Palestinians in the occupied territories and the Israeli progressive forces. How are they involved?

Qawasmi: In Israel there is a peace-loving force, not only the progressive force. Some Israelis who might not be progressive are starting to believe that peace is the only way to salvation. Although they might not be many, I greet them and say that they have an obligation to stand against those who are not interested in peace. I say, with all honesty, that the Palestinian people have sacrificed for peace. We talk logically – that we can live in peace in our homeland. Israelis must stand up against the actions taking place in the occupied territories. They have to stand against the killers of Palestinians in Sabra and Shatila. It is not enough to condemn them, they must be told "your turn is over, it is the turn of peace." Not only because of the Palestinians but because of the Israelis and their children. Peace cannot be divided. He who wants peace for himself must fight for the peace of others.

Al Fajr: Will the Palestine National Council makenew resolutions as a goodwill gesture towards what you call 'peace-loving Israelis'?

Qawasmi: Peace-loving Israelis know the answer well. I have met with them more than once in Jerusalem and Hebron. I am sure that one of the reasons that I was expelled is because I spoke about peace. After expulsion I continued to speak about peace. The PNC, I am sure, has always been for peace-loving groups. Everyone knows that Abu Ammar (PLO Chairman Yasir Arafat) has met with peace-loving Israelis. We call upon them to continue struggling for a just peace for all sides.

Al Fajr: Are you talking about Rakah, the Peace Now movement or both?

Qawasmi: I have met with members of all parties, even the Labour Party. I am willing to continue meeting any Israeli interested in peace. My understanding of peace is clear. We want an independent state in the West Bank and Gaza. I met MAPAM (leader Victor) Shemtov more than once.

The PNC has not seen any Israeli peace initiative to discuss. Let the peace-loving Israelis say what their understanding of real peace is.

Al Fajr: Regarding the Jordanian-Palestinian dialogue, there is a feeling in the occupied territories that post-Beirut, Arafat is supported regardless of what political position he takes. What are the feelings of Palestinians in Jordan?

Qawasmi: What you feel towards Arafat is shared by your brothers in exile. Arafat was a leader of the struggle in Beirut, he was a fighting man and a brilliant politician. He excelled in war and in peace and that is why we are with him. The decisions and actions in Beirut gave confidence, not only to the Palestinians, but to all Arabs who respect the PLO leadership and give it their utmost trust.

Regarding the Palestinian-Jordanian dialogue, I say that this dialogue is late. We started with the Joint Committee supporting our people in the occupied territories and now have progressed to set-up political committees talking about our future relations. Honestly I say that the Jordanian-Palestinian relationship is not only important for peace but for what comes after peace. It is not important because specific proposals have been announced, but because the coming danger is not only against the Palestinian people but the Jordanian people as well.

This relationship is a normal and historical relationship that precedes 1948. In 1948 it became a constitutional relationship. The popular relationship is historical. The Jordan river never divided the two peoples. If we look at the social structure we wouldn't be able to differentiate the two peoples. We both fight for the return of the Palestinian personality not because we are separatist but because of our feeling of honor and respect for a homeland.

Al Fajr: The Israeli media exaggerates when it claims differences between the Palestinian factions. For example, the statements of Samir Ghoshe were blown out of proportion in Israel.

Qawasmi: Begin won in the elections with 47 Knesset seats. Begin who did not get 50 percent of the seats was able to set up a coalition government. We are also democratic. I am sure that the Palestinian leadership, if it was to stand for election, would get more than twice what Begin got. Nevertheless we don't claim that we are brick frames, we are human. We debate our positions and it is the right of the Palestinians to express our opinion, whatever it is. It is not shameful that some Palestinians reject certain issues. That is their right. We are talking about the vast majority of the Palestinian people and the Palestinian factions who are supporting the PLO and its leadership. If some object, that doesn't bother us. This is democracy. We have a National Council, a central committee, an elected executive committee and we don't even have a state.

Al Fajr: What about the alleged conflict between Arafat and Syrian President Assad?

Qawasmi: The PLO, from time to time, might be in agreement with some Arab regimes and have differences with others. This is not a strategic difference. We might have a view that differs with that of some Arab countries. We cannot operate according to the policies of 22 countries. This is impossible. We have our opinions and believe in our independent Palestinian decisions, which we defend. Our relations with Arab regimes are viewed with the interests of our people in mind. If there are some differences of opinion between the PLO and Syria, the differences are superficial and will be dissolved some day soon and Syria will return to its ties with the Palestinian people and the PLO. We agree and differ but we remain Arab – Palestinians, Syrians, Jordanians – one nation.

Al Fajr: In the Hebron district there is a Village League with a newly formed federation headed by Mustafa Dudeen. Last month Dudeen gave an interview to the Israeli Arabic daily Al Anba where he said that he would go to the farthest spot on earth following King Hussein's requests and that Hussein has never asked him to dissolve the leagues. Dudeen said that he would dissolve them if he were asked by the Jordanian king. What is your opinion?

Qawasmi: I don't think that his majesty, King Hussein would stoop to the level of talking with the Village Leagues. If they, in the Village Leagues, want to show that they are in contact with King Hussein, I say to them – 'you are scum. You will never get that.' The position of the Jordanian government is clear: whoever deals with the Village Leagues is considered guilty according to law and a traitor to his homeland. This is the decision of the Jordanian cabinet, which speaks on behalf of Jordan. But the league has been saying since 1978 that it coordinates with Jordan. When Jordan rejected them they announced they hadn't coordinated with the Jordanian ministry for occupied territories. When the prime minister rejected them they said, 'We coordinate with his majesty the king.' But we say to them the king will not announce that he doesn't have relations with you because you don't deserve to be talked with.

Al Fajr: Bethlehem Mayor Elias Freij states over and over that the PLO should recognise Israel because 'time is short.' Is it true that time is not on the Palestinians' side?

Qawasmi: It is not a matter of time, it is a matter of rights. We demand the right of self-determination for the Palestinian people, the right to set up an independent state, the the right of refugees to return, we demand security, peace for all the peoples of the area, including the Israeli people. The request of my colleague Elias Freij is difficult when the Palestinian people are still under occupation, while Prime Minister Begin says clearly that he will not deal with the PLO even if the PLO recognises Israel and Israel will not withdraw from the West Bank and Gaza because it is the 'Land of Israel.'

Why does Freij request that the PLO, and not Begin, change his policies of enmity to the Palestinian people, after all, the Palestinians continue to seek peace, not for Palestinians alone but for all peoples of the region.

"The Jordanian-Palestinian relationship is a normal and historical one that preceded 1948."

Al Fajr: The Hebron municipality is continuing work despite the fact that other municipalities were dissolved by Israel. Other municipalities in the north of the West Bank are said to be considering returning to work with guidance from Jordan. Are you aware of this?

Qawasmi: We announced the work freeze and the refusal to deal with the Israeli 'civil administration' and I believe that most of the honest municipalities still don't deal with the civil administration. Some have differed in the meaning of this action. The cessation of work has continued, including in Hebron. We have agreed not to deal with the 'civil administration' in order to pass the work of the muncipality. I believe that the Hebron municipality has not dealt with the civil administration because it rejects the 'civil administration.' But as far as dealing with the residents' needs for utilities, no one ever said that it should be stopped or delayed. But the relations with the 'civil administration' even in the interest of the municipality are frozen.

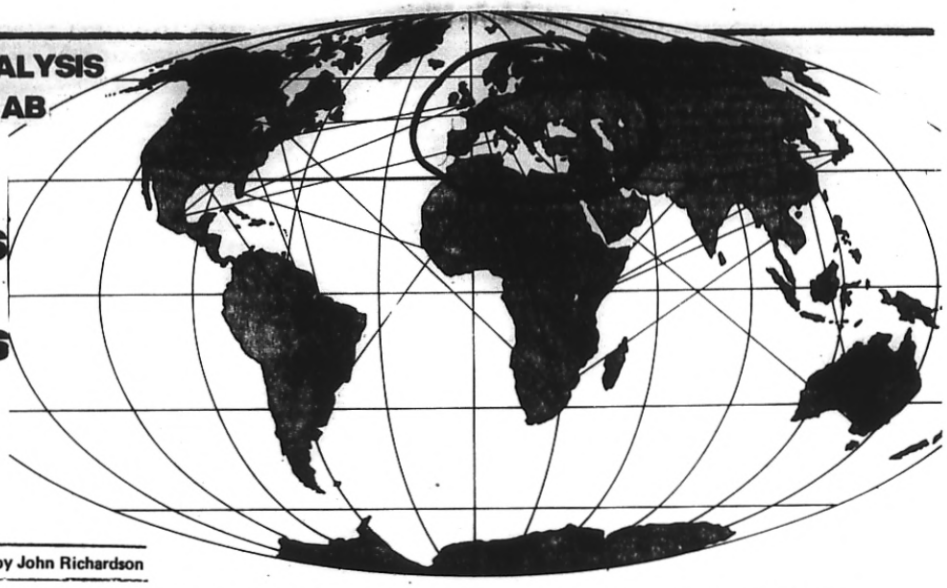
Al Fajr: Not being appointed to an official position in the PLO has netted fruitful gains – you can participate in negotiations with the US or in future talks. Was this your idea? Also, were you offered posts and you refused?

Qawasmi: In fact, I was offered many posts in the Jordanian government and in the PLO but I refused because I want to return to Hebron – being a resident before being a mayor. I thought that any official appointment would delay such an effort. For the past two-and-a-half years I have been trying to return. I say it truthfully: I love my homeland. With the choice between a high position outside and returning home, I choose the latter. So I continue to seek my goal – which is to return. Maybe I can add my breath to those of the others steadfast there.

RADICAL ANALYSIS OF EURO-ARAB DIALOGUE

BUSINESS IS BUSINESS

POLITICS IS ONLY TALK



by John Richardson

Did you ever wonder why whenever European and Arab politicians meet for dialogue strong statements on Palestinian rights are almost inevitable — yet practical action to realise those rights is never taken? A recent visitor to the occupied territories has a very clear answer to the question. Pandeli Glavanis, a lecturer in the Sociology of the Middle East at Britain's prestigious Durham University, told an audience at Bir Zeit University that the basis of European-Arab relations is cash and that political discussions are merely 'icing on the cake' — easily ignored, especially when business is going smoothly.

Talking to **Al Fajr** after his pre-Xmas talk Glavanis characterised the European view of relations with the Arabs as "essentially . . . how to handle the massive influx of petro-dollars onto the market." He points out that the Arab world is the largest supplier of commodities to the European Economic Community and the Arab world is the biggest export market for Europe. Twenty percent of EEC imports, virtually all oil, are Arab: 15 percent of their exports go to the Middle East.

Even non-oil Arab countries like Syria and Tunisia export oil products to Europe while in return they get a wide-range of industrial goods. To underline his belief that politics has no influence on the essence of this relationship, Glavanis points out that trade is going from strength to strength.

All European economists predicted that exports to the Arabs would fall following the economic confrontation of 1973. In fact they have doubled since then, from 42 percent of the value of oil imports to 84 percent in 1981. During the same period Saudi Arabia, the major Arab economy, has boosted EEC imports from 420 million EEC units of goods in 1973 to 6,000 million in 1981, says Glavanis.

Glavanis, who came to the Middle East after attending the recent Paris conference on European-Arab cooperation, points out that most Arab imports are tied to long-term development. Machine, equipment and commodity imports on 15 to 20 year contracts mean, he says, that even if European countries boycotted Arab oil the Arabs would still be tied to imports from Europe.

Most major contracts are made between individual multi-national companies and firms in the Arab world. This, says Glavanis, further undercuts state-to-state mixed economic-political agreements. He asserts that during British premier Margaret Thatcher's recent Gulf tour the most important decisions were made by the business-people that made up her retinue. Her talks with the sheikhs were basically for form's sake.

On the basis of the essentially private nature of business Glavanis raises the interesting analytic point that to all intents and purposes there is "no Arab world and no European world." In conjunction with handling petro-dollar business the EEC must deal with the problem of how to experience the economic crisis. Britain, for instance, with over 4 million unemployed depends heavily on Arab business to see it through. In contrast, in Germany, the current economic problems are much less intense — Arab business contracts are part of its long-term plans. Glavanis notes that the 10 EEC members are agreed that a "united front" is necessary but that subsequent competition for contracts is intense.

Economic ties certainly operate at a separate level to political reciprocity — but does this mean that all statements made in the Euro-Arab dialogue are mere hypocritical mouthings? For the cynic, Glavanis's elaborations on this question allow only a barely modified 'yes.' He explains the 1980 Venice Declaration — in which Europe called for a new initiative for peace in the Middle East — in terms of Europe's economic fears. The 'dialogue,' he says, was dead between 1978 and 1980 and only revitalised when fears grew that Camp David was extinct and the US seemed reluctant to start a new initiative thus threatening economic stability.

Glavanis believes that once the US showed it wanted to keep publicly active Europe surrendered almost entirely to the Reagan plan. He quotes recent statements by the French Commissioner Pizani, in charge of development and external relations at the Paris conference where, on political questions, he would only say that the US plan had to be "given time" and plead problems with NATO and Ireland when pressed for action. British Foreign Minister Francis Pym is another case in point. Mid-summer he was issuing statements calling for the PLO to be invited to peace talks; he repeated them before Margaret Thatcher's autumn Gulf tour. Then, in Kuwait, Thatcher made "one of the nastiest anti-PLO speeches ever." And in December Thatcher refused to meet an Arab League delegation because it included a PLO representative.

Glavanis will not speculate whether this is a "change of policy" or merely the realisation that once Gulf contracts were signed all pretence could be dropped. He assigns French President Francois Miterrand's fluctuations on Middle East questions to his realisation that with the Arabs "you can do what you want. While the Israelis are a pain in the neck, the Arabs will always buy Mirage (jets)."

The only non-hypocrites in the Glavanis scenario are the economists and the principled. B. Jones, the director of the office for long term policy and analysis at the EEC energy commission, in his contribution to the Paris conference, says Glavanis, spelled out very clearly that he saw relations and dialogue only in terms of European energy needs, and the role the Arab world and oil have to play in that. Jones made it clear, he said, that politics are irrelevant because its in energy fields that all important policy decisions are centred.

On the other hand, some European and national MPs who are sincere in their political feelings, are "left with the conclusion that they have very little control." This group, says Glavanis, have very positive attitudes to the Palestinians but have no muscle because of the total vacuum caused by the domination of policy by the politically adept and economically strong EEC energy commission. Many of these Euro-MPs, asserts Glavanis, have concluded that while the Arabs themselves are happy with the economic status quo, there's little they can do at the political level.

Having circled the structural and European ends of the 'dialogue' the search for movement on Palestinian rights returns to the Arab world. Having noted that the Gulf contracts have hamstrung the present regimes for some time, there are still one or two glimmers of hope. Glavanis notes that the British body politic did shiver when the Saudis threatened economic sanctions after the Arab League delegation was rebuffed, but there was no immediate economic threat to back it up.

Since then, of course, Saudi Arabia cancelled Pym's proposed visit to the country and a deputy minister has written letters to the British press calling for the Arabs to hit the Europeans "in their pockets." So far there has been no evidence of either Saudi Arabia or any other Gulf state acting on this suggestion, however.

Maybe the only positive thing to be said for Arab ineffectualness — is that at least the people of the occupied territories are spared "fact-finding missions." Though maybe given the new "cool" between Saudi Arabia and the British, suitcases will be dusted off and tickets bought.

When looking for signs of hope of Arab action most Palestinians look to the progressive regimes rather than the Gulf. The Durham sociologist throws economistic cold water on that avenue too. Non-oil regimes, he asserts, have two major hurdles to overcome: their dependence on Western industries for much-needed employment and, interestingly, Israel's central economic role in Middle East-Europe relations.

Glavanis points out that there is no significant EEC aid to developing Arab states. All development schemes, usually involving multi-national corporations fleeing south on the lookout for cheap labour, only get the go ahead if the Gulf Arabs have a major investment stake. Glavanis sees this as part of a major movement of Western capital and traditional industries into the Third World. These plants, he points out, will benefit from cheap energy and labour and underdeveloped anti-pollution and corporation legislation. As they are also only producing one part of a product — a new plant destined for Egypt, for instance, will make diesel engines for Ford Transit vans. The bodies will be made in South Africa with the whole unit being finished and marketed in Europe. Should the Egyptian regime — or workforce — cause Ford problems, they already have a back-up plant making similar units in Belgium. Egypt, with its desperate economic plight, not Europe or Ford, would be the loser.

Glavanis says that the kinds of factories being established through the Levant and North Africa are easily dismantled. For the modern multi-national, it seems, infrastructure can be shifted from state-to-state or even out of the region altogether. And with a high part of the initial cash outlay coming from oil revenues the companies do not stand to lose too much.

With the poorer Arabs states becoming more important as producing areas the West has taken an interest in indigenous economic life. Taking Egypt as an example again, Glavanis says that

continued on page 14

Tongue's Tip

by Ali Khalili

Tongue's Tip, a poem by Ali Khalili celebrating the start of the Palestinian revolution, was the lead item in January's **Al Fajr al-Adabi**. It uses the image of 'dust' to describe the miserable condition in which the revolution was born. "Palestine was Palestine" writes Khalili, and the task of the revolution is to restore to Palestine "the moons of Iz al-Din Qassam" and unite the millions of scattered Arabs.

Sacrifices were offered permanently through these long years of struggle and the settlers are still "spreading my blood over toilet paper. Don't worry," the poet says, "the revolution will continue in spite of sacrifices: "whenever a red arm fell, the green paradise is established in your hands as a promise before waging the battle."

Um Qash'am in the poem is an evil magician aiming at liquidating the Palestinians. The poet challenges Um Qash'am to eat from the apple of his heart and sarcastically invites her to visit the Arab world:

"You're welcome
To all homelands of Arabs and honour"

However, the poet asserts that the dawn of true Arabism is from the flames of the Carmel (the area where Sheikh Qassam started his struggle). A pessimistic and sad tone permeates the poem notably towards the end as the poet remembers Sabra and Shatila massacres. The tongue's tip is sharp, but it accepts reality.

Tongue's Tip

It ascended from the sad horizon
to jasmine's pollen
to dead dust
to the steadfasts' dust
from lovers' remains
to refugees' remains
from left to right
from years to years
to the camp
don't worry!

* * * * *

To children
to adults
to mother's milk
to massacres.
don't worry!

* * * * *

to dust
from deep-rooted remains
to ships
to longing
to sands
to shadows
to the horizon.

* * * * *

It goes on and stumbling on roads
rises before others
from years to years
to Palestine that was Palestine
that showered the earth.
Each heavy-burdened woman
cast down her load
and called:
O Palestine that was Palestine
That was Iz al-Din's moons
reflected in brows' flames
in the horizon.
Arab without Arabs and scattered
millions
towns are forests
for people of past and people of future
from left to right
to jasmine's pollen
to death.
From death it ascended
from knife
to knife
opening its gate
receiving martyrs,
burdens weeping
calling Iz al-Din, Oh, Iz al-Din
from the north moon
to lovers remains
from years to years!

to the camp
don't worry!

* * * * *

to the liberators road
to some memory of oral historians
upon you the hallucination of 'peace
upon you'
and the serene country
from rubble to rubble
to Palestine that was Palestine
passing over settlers
victorious settlers of Zionism,
who travel from darkness to darkness
spreading my blood over toilet paper
scattered throughout the whole world
eating, drinking
assending
ascending
as death desired
the homeland is an echo
the homeland is an echo
Silence!
The luxurious airports are asleep
the most beautiful Arab woman is
asleep
the occupied land's braids are asleep
thus —
shut your mouth!
Make your blood a rope on the sad
horizon
on the jasmine's pollen
on dead remains dust
on dust
don't worry!

* * * * *

Old helmets became nests
like pigeons
old grass grew on the rubble
the earth becomes alive
peace, oh peace, oh peace
whenever a red arm fell
the green paradise is established in
your hands
as a promise before waging the battle
Silence! disaster

* * * * *

Oh God, Qamar al-Zaman***
Oh God, Qut al-Quloub
Oh God, oh God,
a simile, but nothing like it
the grape juice does not intoxicate
does not lift the veil
Why do brows burn?
the sand blocks changed
to flesh of man
the vanquished's life which is his death
died
something awakes in the blinded.
We glorify the flood
flood, oh, flood
90,000 or more
it increases, oh
increases, increases
flood asks help
from ants
from manure

* * * * *

my apple is from my heart's flesh
eat, what you want
Un Qash'am, be addicted
my apple is from my heart's flesh
tear my flesh
oh, Um
oh, poison
the dove laid her eggs on the branch
you grant us the eloquent cock's egg
the slaughtered boy's egg
hail hail
my egg is from my flesh
you eat
be silly
from deserts the cloud ascended
my apple is from my ribs,
you descend
you're welcome
to all Arabs' homelands and honour
you accept
you receive
the dawn of Arabism is from the flames
of Carmel
by the corn plant
by fig, olive tree and serene country
on the pollen of jasmine
on the dust of dead
on the dust of refugees
what happened to them, happened
by the coffee of morning
by plump dates
grinding teeth
did they say then Sabra
and they made speeches, oh, Shatila
just speeches
Oh master,
the tongue's tip is thorny
but oh, master
it tastes like coffee,
rests
and silence.

*** Qamar al-Zaman and Qut al-Quloub are two lovers, mentioned in 1001 Nights. They lived separately for a long time but at the end of the story they were reunited.

New Promise For Iz al Din Qassam

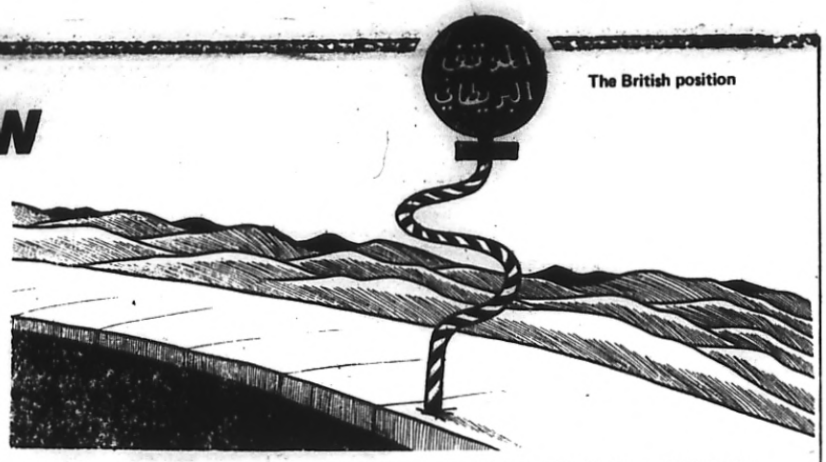
New Promise for Iz al-Din Qassam is a new collection of poems by Nablus writer Sami Kilani. It is dedicated to the Syrian militant who was killed by the British forces in 1935. He is regarded as the first **feda'i** of the Palestinian revolution. In the title work Sami Kilani honours the memory of Iz al-Din and compares his struggle with the activities of leaders and rulers of the Arab world today.

New Promise For Iz al-Din Qassam

The music from your mouth
arouses "honourable thou-
sands," anger
the anger of the Ta'ee* guards'
generosity
the anger of the guards of
Arab honour
in the tent's poles
the anger of those who shouted
in valleys:
land is God's land,
land will not be taken from us
we will not be deprived of our
honour
we will not be deprived of our
thousand year old glory
from Sind to Hind to
China
Iz al-Din, don't despair
since the birth of Jesus
since Muhammad's hijra
they do not descend from you
they do not belong to you
Since Ali, we have recognised
them
they were the skilled Ummayya
merchants
but look:
he who tightly grasps your hem
king of plough and sickle
for thousands of years, shouts:
Iz al-Din, Oh, Iz al-Din
we give you the banner, our
banner
we took it from their hands
they stabbed us in the back
with the dagger
because we await the new
future
on the spear's head in their
hands
they stabbed the dagger in our
back
we said: Amen
when they said we're ready to
face it
we said: Amen.
They stabbed the knife in our
back
and now
witness Iz al-Din
we give you the banner stained
with our blood
the banner is flying in the dawn
to the east
we give you the banner, a
budding tobacco plant
a blossoming season of wheat
from now we are
behind you Iz al-Din

*Hatem Ta'ee is a famous and generous Arab who lived during the pre-Islamic period.

WINDOW ON THE ARAB PRESS



PLO Chairman Yasir Arafat's important visit and talks with the Jordanian monarch was the lead story in the three dailies published in the occupied territories. **Al Shaab** daily carried a banner story January 9 on the attack on the Israeli bus in Tel Aviv, while **Al Fajr** and **Al Quds** gave the incident itself less prominence and concentrated on the hundreds of Arabs that were arrested immediately after the attack.

The Hebron municipality's latest problems with the Kiryat Arba settlers — the settlers continue to uproot electricity pylons erected by the municipality — received major coverage in the dailies as well as the active support of the Peace Now movement for the Hebron municipality's rights.

Arafat's trip to Moscow and US envoy Philip Habib's return to the area were top stories in **Al Fajr** and **Al Quds**.

SAM-5 AND THE FAILURE OF CAPITULATION

Despite the lack of official confirmation from Soviet Union and Syrian sources on the truth of announcements from official American and Israeli circles about Syria having obtained SAM-5 missiles, the warnings from the official Israeli spokesperson indicate an Israeli attempt to repeat the same "scenario" which it used over the presence of Syrian missiles in the Beqa'a region. It does not matter that the missiles are, this time, around the capital Damascus, as announced in the news! What matters is that Syria has something with which to defend itself.

Whether the news reports of SAM-5 missiles prove to be correct or are merely a justification for intervening in Syrian internal affairs, as a prelude to exerting military pressure, the very discussion reveals the shortsightedness of those who believe that the Israeli invasion of Lebanon will herald a so-called Israeli era in the region, and this will provide right-wing Arab rulers with the justification for yielding to the exigencies of this "era", accepting everything that Israel dictates on the basis of the balance of power existing after the invasion of Lebanon.

It now seems, whether the news is correct or otherwise, that those who have built their policies on this basis have deceived their people. The balance of power cannot remain as it is, in favour of Israel, if the Arabs get themselves together and rally, faithfully and courageously, with support of their great friend, the Soviet Union.

This fact confirms that those who endeavour to impose submissive plans on the Arab peoples, claiming a status quo or "the service of peace", are only preparing the region for a new war by denying demands for a just peace. At the forefront of demands is the total withdrawal from occupied Arab land and the implementation of the right of self-determination for the Palestinian people in an independent state within the 1967 borders.

The news of the supply to Syria of SAM-5 missiles indicates that the existing balance of power on which the US administration and Israel are gambling in order to impose their plans, cannot be preserved or relied upon to remain as it was during the invasion of Lebanon and as Begin thought when he declared 40 years of future peace!

What can be truly relied upon to achieve this prediction is one thing alone: total withdrawal and the decision of the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination. Only then will talk of peace be actual and justified.

AL TALIA
January 6

FINAL PROOF

No doubt the British stand in refusing to receive the representative of the PLO within the seven-member (Arab League) delegation has aroused feelings in all Palestinians, because Britain bears historic responsibility for the situation of the Palestinian people and because Britian is still benefiting from the Arab world whilst at the same time denying the simplest of its demands.

The British refusal to receive the delegation as long as it included a representative of the PLO is a copy and continuation of the American position when Washington refused to receive the delegation, forcing the Arab states to yield to the US administration and remove the PLO representative from the committee.

If Washington claimed that it had certain commitments towards Israel according to promises it took on itself in the agreement on the separation of forces in 1975, London is not tied by any such promises, except if it considers itself a follower of American policy.

However, the Palestinian stand on Washington, as on London, is clear and rejects attempts at pressure and harassment and condemns this imperialist arrogance which denies even the most basic of its people's rights.

Towards this hostile imperialist arrogance, we, as Arafat asserted in Kuwait, demand a combined Arab stand against Britain to deter it and to clarify the limits of other European countries taking the same road as America.

Is this possible?

Saudi Arabia and the Gulf states, with the exception of Sultan Qabous (in Oman), have refused to receive the British Foreign Secretary, Francis Pym, although an aide to the Saudi Interior Minister sent a letter to **The Times** newspaper which went as far as to say " . . . we advise the Arab states to hit Britain to damage it, in their pocket, since they have no heart."

Is this statement of the Saudi side the official Saudi position? Does it even indicate the future Saudi position?

We find the answer with Francis Pym, the British Foreign Secretary, when he said in a TV interview last night that certain countries — meaning the oil-rich Arab countries — do not want their refusal to receive him to have an effect on their special relations with Britain! Moreover Pym asserted that these states "are not talking of economic arrangements, and are not even proposing such arrangements."

And so . . . the British impression, certainly based on information and facts, is that the petroleum countries do not want this to effect their relations with Britain and do not consider taking any economic actions against it. Thus there is no place for British anxiety or fear of any actual Arab threats or crises, for London knows in advance that this crisis is consumption in the Arab markets . . .

The Arab petroleum countries must prove the error of this British impression and their mistaken estimations, and prove once and for all that it conspires with the imperialist countries against the Palestinian people in particular and the Arab people in general and that it stands in the same trench as those countries hostile to world liberation movements, at the forefront of which is the Palestinian National Liberation Movement.

AL FAJR
JANUARY 7

OUR NATIONAL UNITY

Our Palestinian people are passing through the most difficult stage in their struggle for the restoration of their national rights and the protection of their existence and future.

Those of us inside face continuous campaigns of pressure on both the land and the people. Our people outside also face unrelenting attempts of political slaughter and total physical extermination and pressure which comes not only from the enemy but from "comrades" and some "friends" who laugh in the faces of the Palestinians and raise poisonous fangs.

Under these circumstances, the Palestinians have no stronger weapon than national unity; no weapon against them is stronger than internal division. Nothing today makes the enemy more happy or achieves their aims than division, disunity and doubt among our people.

An action or a word from an individual or a group is a responsibility and a stand. The responsibilities are large and dangerous. Thus we warn some people, both here and outside, against the attempt to plant doubt in national unity or in the Palestinian leadership.

AL MITHAQ
January 8

ARABS PREPARED TO CONFRONT US ?

It has been decided that the Jerusalem Committee which emerged from the Islamic Summit and the seven-member committee formed at the Fez Summit are to hold a joint meeting in Morocco at the end of this month.

It has also been decided that the conference will discuss the results of the efforts of the two committees, especially the results of the seven-member committee's trip to super-power capitals in order to formulate a stand and take definite steps based on these results.

We are not being negative when we say that we expect nothing from this conference, because what it should do is clear and unambiguous. The main conclusion that the committee can reach is that the US is trying to ignore Arab and Islamic stands and is determined to challenge Arab rights and attempts to spread its influence in the region.

It follows that the logical response which the committee must reach is the necessity to punish the US. We hold dozens of profitable cards in this field; even mentioning them means a great deal. The vast investments and capital in American banks and markets and the value of American imports to Arab markets, oil production and prices and . . . and . . . all form the key to Arab action, if such action were wanted.

Once again, the question for the forthcoming conference or to any other meeting is: are the Arab states prepared to confront the United States?

AL SHAAB
January 9

POLITICAL ASPECTS AND PROFESSIONAL STANDARDS OF ISRAELI INTELLIGENCE

What Begin and Reagan Didn't Want You to Know

Part II

Al Fajr presents the second in a 10-part series on Israeli intelligence agencies, originally published in CounterSpy.

Part II deals with the general situation of Israeli intelligence.

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March 1979

Israel

Foreign Intelligence and Security Services

secret

a. RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT AND THE SERVICES — The intelligence and security community enjoys a strong position in the government, and their affairs are well integrated into more general operations. Members of the generation which worked for the establishment of the state were companions of longstanding and joint veterans of such enterprises as illegal immigration and arms-running. Many of the current leaders came up through the ranks of the military in a series of wars with the Arabs and entered politics through affiliation with one of the major political parties. All of them had some experience in clandestine matters and have been personally convinced by stern lessons of the value of good intelligence and security.

The intelligence and security services receive excellent support from the ministry of foreign affairs. Many senior diplomats are former intelligence officers and therefore conversant with intelligence problems and operations. With their experienced observations and manifold talents, they serve as valuable auxiliaries to their covert colleagues, whose diplomatic cover is diligently sustained by the ministry of foreign affairs. Furthermore, almost every Israeli diplomat abroad has good foreign language and area knowledge or some specialization which enables him to pursue a much broader social life, with its resultant contacts, than is the case in most foreign services. In many instances, embassy officers, including chiefs of diplomatic missions, were former citizens of the countries to which they are accredited. Information developed by Israeli diplomats is made available to the intelligence and security community for immediate use of operational intelligence or inclusion in archives. As a final boon to covert intelligence personnel, the vigor and variety of a normal Israeli diplomat's life outside his installation usually renders detection of intelligence officers by the host country extremely difficult. The same kind of effective support regarding operations is given by the ministry of defense and the Jewish Agency.

The Israeli intelligence and security services play an important role throughout the government and private sector. Many leaders in both the civil service and industry have at some time in their careers been directly or indirectly involved with the intelligence community. Services assignments are not regarded as the end of a career, as persons with intelligence and security backgrounds frequently are selected for other jobs in the government. Thus the services are supplemented by persons who know and continue to relate their missions to intelligence and security responsibilities, in senior posts in both the public and private sectors. Officially, the services are nonpolitical and members of the community are not encouraged to enroll in any party or engage in political activity. The Defense and Foreign Affairs Committee of Knesset is normally the government's point of discussion for the review and resolution of sensitive policies and activities. The Director of Mossad and the Director of Shin Bet are often present at sessions which are of concern to them.

b. RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE SERVICES AND THE POPULACE — The current state of relations between the services and the populace is good as a result of the present position of the services as protectors of the Israeli state and people in the forefront of the struggle against Arab terrorists and military forces. Most Israelis are acutely aware of this situation and therefore support the services and their operations. The historical development of Israel and the long continuing struggle against the Arabs have contributed to this harmonious atmosphere.

At times in the past as a result of political rivalries and disagreements on the kind of order that was to prevail in Israel, there have been occasional verbal and journalistic attacks against the services as instruments of a police state. In several instances, service representatives had to appear in closed court sessions to defend the intelligence and security community against accusations of kidnapping, brutality and illegality. Although debates in the Knesset occasionally have reflected probably illegal practices or procedures by the services, the intelligence and security community is completely loyal and if the government requested the execution of a certain task, legal or illegal, it would be accomplished.

Confidence in the intelligence and security community also received a boost after the Six-Day War in 1967. The part played by Military Intelligence, Shin Bet and the police in contributing to the victory and controlling the newly-occupied Arab areas taken by Israel was followed by a plethora of praise in all Israeli media. The so-called "intelligence failure" in the Yom Kippur War in 1973, however, weakened popular trust in the services. The subsequent work of the Agranat Commission, undertaken to evaluate the community and its shortcomings and to improve cooperation among its members, contributed to a partial renewal of public confidence. The continuing battle by the services against terrorism has also kept Israelis loyal to the community. The Entebbe raid in July 1976, which resulted in the rescue of hijacked Israeli hostages, was one action in recent years which fired the public imagination and served as an example of a well-coordinated and well-executed Israeli operation. This raid and its success buoyed up the moral of the Israelis as nothing else has in recent years and certainly showed the intelligence and security community in a good light.

4. Professional Standards

b. EFFICIENCY — Israel's intelligence and security services are among the best in the world. Their expert personnel and sophisticated techniques have made them highly effective, and they have demonstrated outstanding ability to organize, screen and evaluate information obtained from recruited agents, Jewish communities, and other sources throughout the world. Israel's intelligence capabilities give it a significant advantage over the Arab states — an advantage which was an important factor in the 1967 war.

Those members of the intelligence and security community who were identified with the Information Service and other components of the Haganah, before and during World War II, developed a high standard of efficiency and level of competence. The organizations succeeded in recruiting a core of capable and highly-educated individuals from Europe and the Middle East whose equal has been difficult to find, let alone attract, since the founding of the state. The corps of the "old guard," for example, is fluent in four or five languages, an accomplishment which alone raises their general average of efficiency. The younger generation has been given intensive training, including study abroad, to assist them in gaining these qualifications. It is not uncommon for students to engage in clandestine operations while pursuing their course of studies.

Israel signal intelligence successes against the Arabs in the past were of such high order that the Israelis had less need than at present for good agent operations against the enemy. Part of this success was due to poor Arab communications security. The Israelis now face some problems since Arab communications security is gradually improving. The Yom Kippur War intelligence failure is an example of inadequacies in their communications intelligence capability at that time. In recent years, as well, there also have been indications that Israeli intelligence on the Arabs, other than communications intelligence, has been somewhat inadequate in quality and their agent operations lacking in success.

One of the principal weaknesses of Israel's intelligence and security system appears to be that the production of most finished intelligence and the preparation of national estimates is done by Military Intelligence rather than by an independent service. Inherent in such an organisational arrangement is the danger that the armed services will not be objective in observing and reporting foreign developments and in making national intelligence estimates — a major problem in the Yom Kippur War — and their vested interest in military operations will influence intelligence assessments. The Agranat Commission has recognized this problem and recommended changes.

c. SECURITY — The physical security of the civilian and military intelligence and security headquarters in Tel Aviv is reported to be excellent. Two services — Mossad and Military Intelligence — were formerly located within a general army compound in the heart of the city. The buildings were protected by high wire fences and military guards. Military Intelligence remains in this location but Mossad now occupies a wing of a multi-story commercial office building across the street from the compound. Shin Bet, which was formerly located in a rundown building in Jaffa, occupied new quarters just north of Tel Aviv in June 1970. This new building, which was designed for their use, is fenced in and contains a technical laboratory as well as regular offices. Guards control the entrance and badges bearing a photograph of the employee are worn within the compound.

There is an elaborate protected government "guest house" for the training and accommodation of visiting foreign intelligence officers, foreign dignitaries and sensitive agents.

There are a little over 1,000 persons working as staff officers for Mossad and Shin Bet, all of whom have been given a long, thorough security check. If there is the slightest doubt raised against an individual, the application is rejected. Personnel with leftist backgrounds generally are not trusted by leading members of the intelligence and security services. This attitude did not always apply to former members of European Communist parties, some of whom were eminently qualified for clandestine service, especially if they had renounced their Communist ideology and affiliated with the Israeli Labour Party. This exemption, however, has not applied since the exposure of several high-level espionage cases in governmental and political circles in the late 1950s and early 1960s. The cases of Aharon Cohen, a MAPAM party expert on the Middle East, and Israel Beer, a defense ministry contract employee and IDF reserve lieutenant colonel, who spied for the USSR, and Dr. Kurt Sitte, a Gentile professor of physics at Haifa Technion, who worked for the Czech Service, caused Shin Bet to reconsider its own security procedures while stimulating considerable doubt about the reliability of recanted Marxists. The services have devised internal security systems to expose ideological weaklings by more thorough periodic security checks. The Israelis believe such individuals constitute a possible long-term security threat. Israeli citizens are subjected to stringent registration requirements and must carry identification papers. Within the intelligence and security community great pains are taken not to reveal the identities of personnel even to the average Israeli employed in the government at large. Compartmentation is strictly maintained between services with only designated individuals, usually members of the "hard-core," crossing lines. Intelligence and security personnel widely use and frequently change pseudonyms. The national practice of Hebraicizing European or Yiddish birth names also makes the identification of some Israelis difficult. Visiting foreign officials and agents never use the same car twice when meeting clandestinely with Israeli officers within the country. Certain unlisted official and personal telephone numbers are known only to relatively few people. This type of professional demeanor at home provides excellent daily training for intelligence and security personnel before receiving foreign assignments.

Classified information may not be discussed over the telephone. Despite their relatively high standards of security, however, Israeli officials reportedly are occasionally careless in observing this restriction. They also have "an old boy network" much like the British. Israelis in the "network" are willing to discuss classified subjects whether or not there is a need to know. The Israelis also have problems dealing with overseas Jewry whose support they need but whose security is questionable because of the possibility of divided loyalty.

Scores Held After Tel Aviv Attack

An Israeli bus was attacked by grenades January 8, near Tel Aviv central bus station. Twelve passengers were injured when unidentified men tossed two hand grenades at bus no.210 that runs to Petah Tikva.

After the incident police mounted a massive search and arrest campaign against Palestinians in the city. Over 100 were reportedly arrested with 19 still in detention several days later. The blast occurred at 6:30 pm, in Bar Yohai street in the heart of Tel Aviv. According to Israeli newspaper reports the two attackers stopped the bus and hurled two grenades at it. The first grenade bounced off the frame and exploded on the sidewalk. The second one broke the windscreen and exploded, spreading fragments in all directions. Civilian cars which passed by helped the wounded to hospital, where three remain.

Later reports said the two attackers hid-out in a deserted building near the place of the incident and were possibly spirited out of the area by members of the same cell. All entrances to the neighbourhood were closed off by roadblocks as hundreds of policemen using tracking dogs searched the area. **The Jerusalem Post** said that five hours after the search, 19 Palestinians were arrested. Tel Aviv police appointed a special committee to question them and investigate the circumstance of the incident.

On January 11, **The Jerusalem Post** reported that five Palestinians were remanded for four days on suspicion of taking part in the operation. The paper said that the Israeli police representative presented the court with "classified evidence." The five suspects are Suleiman Abu Bracha, 23, from Gaza, Mahmoud Jabarin, 21, from Um al-Fahm, Daoud Saheel, 21, from Gaza, Mahmoud Abu Daih, 19, from Gaza, and Hoder Abeed, 23, from Khan Yunis. All suspects denied charges and said that they were not in the vicinity at the time of the attack.

Responsibility for the operation was claimed by the General Command of the Palestinian Revolution, a non-PLO group led by Sabri Bana, codenamed Abu Nidal. In a telephone to the London-based **Arab Daily News**, an unidentified caller claiming responsibility said that the commandos returned to their base safely. The caller also pledged to "continue the struggle against Israel." (Translation local dailies)

New Human Rights Group

According to a press release from ISHA December 26 IHO will be occupied in contact with governments and organisations in order "to eliminate the infringements of human rights of individuals and groups . . . on grounds of belief, ideology, custom and traditional ways of life, etc. and on grounds of discrimination relating to race, nationality, sex, culture, etc."

The International Humanist Ombudsman, a new international institute for human rights established two years ago, has appointed Toma Schick, a member of the Israel Secular Humanist Association as its contact here.

The ISHA announced that IHO will act in close and mutual contact with Amnesty International in order to avoid duplication of treatment and a reasonable division of tasks will take place between the two organisations. AI is famous for its championing of prisoners of conscience, eradication of torture and capital punishment. The IHO will not take care of prisoners except where problems within its brief arise. It will concentrate on infringements that do not involve imprisonment and detention that occur in everyday life: religious teaching in secular schools and religious coercion in general .

Toma Schick has already started to collect details on subjects that are related to the IHO's tasks. These subjects relate to troubled "mixed marriages", interference in individual's choice of spouse, political dismissal from jobs, forcing citizenship on children of non-Israeli parents, etc.

The address for appeals to the **IHOCP in Israel is: POB 20178, IL 61201 Tel Aviv-Jaffa** by registered letter. The appeal should include maximum available details. IHOCP in Israel can be contacted by phone at: 03-332252.

Gaza Shorts

LOCAL CHARITY

A committee of concerned school teachers was formed recently in Jabalia camp to collect donations of money and winter clothing for children from poor families. Last week's efforts netted better results than charity drives of past winters, organisers say. The teachers collected dozens of sweaters, trousers and boots from Gaza merchants and purchased other clothing with financial contributions.

NOT-SO-SUBTLE

Highlighting the December 29 Islamic University student council's fete on the occasion of Prophet Muhammad's birthday, was the play, **Salata Wataniyye** (National Salad). The title is a take-of-from the expression **Sulta Wataniyye** (National Authority). The play poked fun at the Palestinian national movement, in the view of most of the audience.

Nationalist students on campus complained, and within days, conflicting versions of the play reached the Gaza community-at-large. Opposing commentaries appeared last week in **Al Fajr** and **Al Quds** dailies. Finally the university board of trustees requested that the administration set-up an investigation of the event with the student council.

EURO-ARAB . .

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the US has an interest in dismantling the Egyptian cotton industry — Egypt's only 'total' industry in which they produce a raw material, treat it and sell a finished product. He points out that the EEC now buys no Egyptian cotton and Egypt has no East European outlet alternative. So, there has been a massive shift to commercial fruits and vegetables for export to Europe.

But there, one of the more pernicious elements in European-Arab relations reared its head. The EEC told Egypt it could not take its produce because Israel has all their import quotas! Now Egypt is forced into a situation where it has to negotiate with the Israelis to market its onions in the EEC area.

When European politicians wring their hands and say they cannot influence Israel they forget to mention that since May 15, 1975 the EEC has honoured a series of trade ties with Israel giving "far greater preferential treatment" in Glavanis' words, than any Israel has with the US. These contracts *inter alia* allow Israel an almost total monopoly of Europe's market for Middle East-type crops. Thus Levant states — all of which produce similar fruits and vegetables — have no chance of selling inside the EEC, except through Israel. Glavanis says he "wouldn't be surprised" to see Israel "offer" to market Lebanese crops, almost identical to those in the Galilee, in Europe.

Ironically, given the absence of a "radical Nasserite-style regime," willing to take the political risks which would follow a show-down with European companies and states, Glavanis says, that ultra-reactionary regimes like Sadat's are the only ones which cause Europeans economic headaches. . . .

Looking to Egypt for initiatives to destabilise the **status quo** in the Middle East holds little hope, opines Glavanis. He points out that given its massive debts Egypt can do little but talk. If it stops selling oil to Israel the European oil companies would refuse to pump it; tourism and Suez Canal revenues could be threatened by Israeli war-mongering; produce exports to Europe would freeze and remittances from workers abroad (Egypt's major source of income) would be the only cash left. Of course the pro-US Egyptians are also massively in hock to Washington and will face bankruptcy if the US $ 2 billion due now to service debts cannot be met.

After a completely depressing few hours talking to Pandoli Glavanis the question had to be asked: so what would you do if you were planning Palestinian links with Europeans? As an activist in the local branch of the rapidly growing British Palestine Solidarity Campaign, he immediately notes that any contacts with the British public on the level of humanitarian appeals are now "tremendously successful." He notes that now in Britain reaction to such appeals is "very positive," runs very deep and will not leave. He cites intense interest in learning about the Palestinians among ordinary people, local media interest, and high levels of donations to official charities and local appeals on behalf of the Palestine Red Crescent Society.

Spencers, one of the UK's most popular chain stores owned by a family of major Zionist donars, are having some success at a local level.

Summing up his depressing scenario Galvanis controversially suggests: "Forget about the European and Arab governments and go for local organisations. I don't know what effect that will have (in Europe) but that's where Israel works."

Um al-Fahm Appeals 15,000 Dunum Grab

The village council of Um al-Fahm, the Triangle, decided January 5 to support the village residents' claim against Israeli defence ministry attempts to confiscate 15,000 dunums of agricultural land. The landowners were reported to have appointed two lawyers to take the case to the Israeli High Court.

According to the villagers, the Israeli defence ministry distributed notices recently informing them that they should "give up" their land which is being used for military training. The residents said the defence minister told them the army was relinquishing responsibility for any accidents or property damage should the landowners enter their land.

The threatened land is cultivated, with some areas planted with almond and olive trees. Israeli attempts to take over the land date back to the early 1950 s when the land was closed off by an official military order. Then, landowners took their case to the Israeli High Court demanding cancellation of the land grab order. The court issued an order in 1957 allowing village residents to cultivate their land provided they obtained special permits.

After receiving notification from the Israeli ministry of defence, insurance companies have refused local land holders life insurance. The landowners took this as a sign of the seriousness of the case. The villagers sent letters to the Committee for Defence of the Land, asking for support in their struggle to regain control of their property. Um al-Fahm is the largest Palestinian village inside Israel's pre-'67 borders with a population of nearly 20,000. Since 1948 some 120,000 dunums — virtually all the village's land — have been confiscated.

Electricity pylons uprooted by Jewish settlers from the Kiryat Arba Settlement/SF

BEDUIN EVICTION PLAN SHELVED

Israeli authorities have postponed the evacuation of Beduin in the Naqab scheduled for January 1. Benyamin Gur Arieh, the Israeli prime minister's advisor on Arab affairs, informed the Azazmeh Beduin of the postponement of their evacuation to an undetermined date. Tel al-Milh, home of the Beduin, is the centre of a major land grab where Israel is building a military airport. Three hundred and fifty families living in Tel al-Milh have not been evicted. Israel is offering minimal compensation to the Beduin, so low in fact that some members of the Knesset Defence and Foreign Affairs Committee who oversee negotiations are refusing to carry on with discussions.

Gur Arieh told heads of the Azazmeh tribe in a televised announcement that "Begin himself agreed to postpone the evacuation of the Beduin and Begin will consult with Sharon, the Israeli defense minister, about fixing another date for Beduin evacuation. Aryeh, speaking on Israel Television's Arabic news, insulted Beduin leaders saying "we made changes on the map but you don't understand them."

Green Patrol soldiers demolished five shacks belonging to Beduin in the area last week. Heads of the Azazmeh have announced that the Israelis must build them a village plus allot agricultural land and pasture before they will move.

Histadrut Labour Union Still Building Settlements

The business wing of the Israeli Labour Federation (Histadrut) reaffirmed, January 9, its policy of tendering for building contracts in the West Bank. The decision was taken in a special meeting of the central committee of the Labour Federation after a row among prominent Israeli politicians, who are members of the Federation when they discovered their building wing was behind much of the settlement construction work.

The controversy flourished nearly a month ago after news reports that Israeli construction companies, such as Solel Boneh and Yuval Gad were involved in building private settlements in the West Bank. At the time, Peace Now movement activists were reported to have been trying to curb the Histadrut companies' activities in the occupied territories. More recently, the issue was raised by liberal members of the Alignment and Shinui, as well as Rakah who demanded that the Histadrut adopt a policy forbidding affiliate companies from participating in the construction of settlements on the West Bank.

Members of the Histadrut who are against involvement in settlement building, such as Labour MK Yossi Sarid, charge that such involvement means giving an OK to the Israeli government's annexationist settlement policy. Other members of the Histadrut argued that settlement construction should serve the creation of security areas as outlined in the Alon plan of 1972. A third group, which backs the general line within the Histadrut, dealt with the question from an economical view point. The president of Solel Boneh, who participated in the central committee meeting, defended his company's involvement and said that non-involvement would mean laying off thousands of workers. He explained that house sales inside the Green Line have dropped nearly 40 percent. The Israeli businessman pointed out that the housing ministry plans to build 4000 housing units in the West Bank in 1983, compels the company to be involved.

Earlier in the meeting, George Sa'ed, the secretary of an Arab labour council from Nazareth, told the meeting that he was not participating in the discussion. He explained that the West Bank and Gaza are occupied territory, and should be dealt with accordingly.

The matter is reported to have been closely followed by concerned Alignment politicans such as Yossi Sarid who are on record as threatening to quit the Histadrut if the Labour Federation makes a final decision on the matter. The Histadrut council is scheduled to meet at the end of January to make a final decision.

The issue will also be discussed within the Israeli Labour Party leadership ranks. Israeli newspapers expect a heated controversy between the Liberal and Conservative wings of the party (Translation Jerusalem Post, Davar, 10. 1, 83

KNOW PALESTINE:

Illar: Land Confiscation and Economic Destruction

During the past 15 years under Israeli occupation, Palestinian residents have experienced many methods of Israeli land confiscation. The village of Illar, 15 kilometers north-east of Tulkarm, however, has recently seen a new way when their land was grabbed through "force renting."

Nearly three months ago the Israeli military governor of Tulkarm informed Illar village council that the military authorities had decided to rent a 200 dunum plot of land from its owners in order to establish a military camp. The land grab in Illar was formally ordered in September. The plot in question known locally as Badwin, is owned collectively by 15 families from the village. The Israeli officer reportedly told the head of the village council that the landowners "can come to the military compound and get the rent."

Shortly after the Israeli officer conveyed these instructions Israeli bulldozers began digging up the land. Then Laila Yusef Ali and Rushdi Sabha, part owners of the plot, decided to take the case to the Israeli High Court. Advocate Felicia Langer appealed to the court requesting an order nisi to stop work December 17. Work stopped four days later. The land described by a well-informed resident as not cultivated, is surrounded by citrus groves.

Alarmed by earlier rumours about an attempt to sell the same plot to the Israeli authorities, Laila Yusef Ali had gone to the Nablus magistrates court to affirm collective ownership of the plot. At the court the 15 owners of the land acknowledged that the land is owned collectively and agreed not to sell any part of it without the prior consent of the rest. They also acquired a precautionary decision which forbids the registration of the land under any name for six months.

One lawyer, who asked not to be identified, explained that this step was taken to stop any legal action in case the land was already sold. He explained that according to Jordanian law, buyers have to publish a notice in a local newspaper of intention to register a plot of land. In many cases, the lawyer asserted, an Israeli company buys land from a dealer, requests the land registration department to issue official registration and publishes an advertisement in rarely read newspapers such as the Israeli government-sponsored Al Anba'. The lawyer also added that in many cases this practice is followed in cases where the land is "collectively owned" and where no Jordanian land registration documents are in the hands of the owners. This applies to more than half the land of the West Bank where surveys by the Jordanian authorities were not completed.

Since 1967 Illar's 5000 residents have faced major problems with agricultural production. Its location at the edge of the Palestinian coastal plain gave it the advantage of growing both citrus trees and mountain grown trees such as olives, almonds and grapes. According to the residents, an estimated 1000 dunums are planted with citrus trees: oranges, lemons, and grapefruit, while a similar area is allocated for vegetable growing. The whole economy of the village is built on agriculture.

The Israeli authorities have virtually outlawed excavation of artesian wells, and also restrict the amount of water that can be drawn from existing wells.

The residents have since substituted the planned project with individual generators for every house.

With the rise of the leagues, marketing has also become a problem for Illar. Truckers are now required to obtain a special permit from the Village League to ship produce across the bridges to Jordan. According to local growers the current rate for league permits is around JD200 per shipment. Despite the Israeli pressures Illar residents are sticking together on vital issues. In the words of an older villager, "If we continue to stick together the Israelis cannot break us."

Traders of the Holy Land

by Elazar Levin

Land traders, investors and alert businessmen are taking more and more control of land in the centre of the West Bank and the areas surrounding Jerusalem. Semi-official data, which I thoroughly checked over the last two weeks, show that private investors — from Israel and abroad — have purchased from Arab owners about 30,000 dunums of land in the West Bank. This isn't much when compared to the millions of dunums of the West Bank. But the land acquisitions are centered in two areas, close to large cities. A Jewish majority is developing on rocky ground and deserted hills, on land under the control of the military government. Land which is, at least in theory, subject to the limiting orders of the Geneva Convention.

The land purchasers are a strange mixture of idealists — who know how to combine their moral obligations with their material interests, skilled private businessmen and investors from abroad. It is difficult to locate, of course, every small or average purchaser. This is the list of holy land properties owned by the largest companies active in this area. (The figures) represent dunums:

The Fund for Land Redemption	5,000
Rosen — Rahat — Benjamin	4,500
Moshe and Aharon Zer	3,000
Ahaliba	2,500
Jumbo	1,400
Delta	780
Einav	500
Kramim	680
	19,360

I checked this data as far as possible — if one takes into account the lack of order in land registration in the West Bank — and certainly part of these figures are only estimations. The supporters of the Greater Israel (Movement) are releasing much higher figures about land that has been purchased but it seems that these are not reliable. The data are flexible to a certain extent as from time to time another purchase is registered. In addition to the eight main companies, small contractors, investors and traders are also active in the purchasing of land. Some of them will be dealt with later on.

The boom in the land purchases in the northern West Bank is very new. This is a time when the government allows, in principle and in practice, every private investor to "redeem" land according to his means and wishes. But until half a year ago the process of land transactions faced many difficulties: Arab landowners feared the revenge of the PLO. Last year an Arab middleman from the village of Ni'lin was murdered — and this was not the only case. Jewish traders wandered on the West Bank roads like thieves in the night, armed with guns and guards and bought land through false purchasers — so that no one would find out that an Arab owner sold land to a Jew.

The war in Lebanon has brought a change in this atmosphere. The military defeat of the PLO in Lebanon has weakened its political position in the West Bank. Israel's military resoluteness made a strong impression among many. The total rejection of the Reagan plan convinced some Arabs that Israel will never withdraw from the West Bank. The results: since June the traders and the investors are flooded with offers for land purchases, mainly in the northern West Bank. The present situation: the purchasers, even the rich ones, don't have enough funds to meet all the land offers, and they have to select what to buy, giving preference to land in the central part of the country. They already reject offers of land on rocky ground which is difficult to build on. The transactions are done today in broad daylight, without false purchasers and almost without fear.

The biggest land purchaser in the West Bank is "The Fund for Land Redemption" which was founded two years ago by a group of young religious people from Bnei Brak (a Tel Aviv suburb), members of the National Religious Party and the Gush Emunim. The aim of this organization, as defined by its activists, is "to redeem land and to fight speculators." The fund is registered as a non-profit-making organisation and is administered by seven people: the president, Zvi Slonim, director of the community center in Kadumim; Yehuda Liberman, deputy-director of the same community center; Beni Katzover, president of the district council of 'Samaria'; Menachem Felix, director of the Elon Moreh yeshiva; Meir Harnoi, auditor; Reuven Bialik, electronics and steel industrialist; Nachman Zoldan, industrialist, one of the managers of Eliaz wine cellars.

Initially, the investors raised about US $1 million, donated by hundreds of young supporters of the NRP who pray in "Beit Bamberger," the Bnei Brak central synagogue. With this money they bought 500 dunums near Elkana Gimel which were to be distributed among the settlers. At that time, two years ago, they paid about US $1200 per dunum. With the rest of the money they went on buying land in other places. Until today, the Fund for Land Redemption has purchased about 5000 dunums with thousands of dunums waiting for the completion of the registration procedures. Donors from the US and England also participate in financing the purchase.

The Profit Element

The Fund's policies — say its administrators — are to redeem land in "East Samaria" as well; this is an area which is not in demand by private investors or settled by force. They have already bought 2000 dunums on Jerizim Mountain, Elon Moreh and north of Tulkarm — areas which are not popular among private purchasers. At the same time the fund buys land in high-demand areas, like Alfei-Menashe, Yakir Elkana Gimel and Avnei-Hefetz. [illegible] vide the purchased land into lots and sell it to any purchaser, provided that s/he is Jewish.

In remote areas the land is sold for US $2000-2500 per dunum; in the areas under demand the price is higher (so administrators say) it goes for US $3000-3500 per dunum.

These prices cover the cost of the land and expenses. In the high-demand areas, the price also includes a profit element which is used to buy land in 'East Samaria', where the demand is low. The Fund for Land Redemption is negotiating today the selling of two lots of 500 dunums each, near Zavta and Yakir, to two contractors who intend to build residential quarters on it. The Fund itself — in contrast with other investors — does not deal with building.

The second largest company is "Residential Quarters in Judea and Samaria," whose ownership is equally divided between Rachel Rahat and Yaari Rozen. Advocate Avner Benjamin, is also active in this company but not as an owner. This company split two years ago from another one "J&S" (Judea & Samaria, t.n.) which was founded by a dozen Greater Eretz Israel activists. The Rahat-Rozen group, whose first motives were also idealist (Rozen is a member of the Tehiya Party and Rahat was a secretary of the umbrella-organization of all the Greater Israel circles), wanted to make profits from the land purchases. Other members in the organization were opposed to it. This is how the "J&S" company split into three different groups: the "Residential Quarters," the initial group and the Yanai group. Of the three, the Rahat-Rozen group is the most active and the most successful.

At the beginning, two years ago, this company bought 480 dunums in the place known today as Sha'arei Tikva not far from Petah Tikva. Then they paid US $1000 per dunum. Later on they bought, for similar prices, 350 dunums in Elkana Gimel, 350 dunums in Ganei Modyin and 350 dunums in Ya'arit. The acquisitions were difficult, because of the Arabs' fears and it was necessary to make trade-to-trade transactions. After the Lebanon war started this situation changed quickly. During the last six months "Residential Quarters" bought the following land: another 250 dunums in Sha'arei-Tikva, 250 dunums in Elkana Gimel, 250 dunums in Ganei Modyin, 350 dunums in the center of "Samaria," 800 dunums in Elkana Hei (Niria), 700 dunums in Ma'aleh Yonatan, 70 dunums in Alfei-Menashe, 400 dunums in the Hebron suburbs. In total "Residential Quarters" has bought 2,500 dunums so far. The group is negotiating additional transactions for another 2,000 dunums. The prices are continuously rising. For its last transactions the company has paid about US $3,000 per dunum, a price which does not include the different kinds of "broker's fees."

"Residential Quarters" is making big profit from the land. Most of the lands purchased for US $3,000 per dunum are being sold today for US $5,000. Even if sometimes it is necessary to pay additional fees of 15 percent above the prices for middlemen — sometimes Jewish or Arab lawyers — the profits are still large. If the average profit for land acquisitions during the last six months is US $1,000 per dunum, the total profit would come to more than US $3 million. Most of this profit is destined to cover expenses and to finance further development of the company.

Rahat-Rosen sells most of the land to individuals. In Sha'arei Tikva, for instance, all the lots have been sold for the purpose of building a large residential quarter of the "build-your-own-home" kind. The building process is slow and the different parties are complaining about it. The first lots in this area were sold for a price of US $1,100 per dunum and now the company itself has to cover these expenses.

Until now "Residential Quarters" has financed the land acquisitions from the profits made in previous transactions. But lately land supply has risen so much that the company has decided to strengthen its financial backing. Two weeks ago the Paper family, owner of the Tromazbest factory, joined the company and it owns now 33 percent of its stocks. Tromazbest is a public company and its shares are traded on the Tel Aviv stock-market. The price of the transaction was not made public. The Tromazbest management announced that Mr. Haim Paper (presently abroad) has acquired part of the "Residential Quarters's" stocks and that the company intends to build villas in the West Bank. (Translation: Haaretz, 17. 12. 82)